TWO REDISCOVERED WORKS OF ANCIENT CHRISTIAN LITERATURE: GREGORY OF NYSSA AND MACARIUS

BY

WERNER JAEGER

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FOREWORD

The manuscript of this book was delivered to the printer early in 1952. It was intended that it be published along with volume VIII, 1 of the critical edition of Gregory of Nyssa during the summer of that year. Unfortunately, other obligations of the press have delayed the printing for more than a year. At any rate, the book should be read as a companion to that volume and particularly to Gregory's rediscovered work on the true ascetic life with which the present inquiry is concerned. To this treatise I now add, in the third part of my book, another hitherto unedited work of early Christian ascetic literature, the great didactic letter of the so-called Macarius of Egypt to the monks. Both works are closely related to each other, and an accurate comparison yields important results. Since the critical edition of Macarius that is being prepared by the Academy of Sciences in Berlin has not yet appeared, I myself have had to take the trouble to investigate the manuscript tradition of Macarius' work and to constitute an adequate text on which to base my inquiry. I hope it will prove helpful to the future editors of Macarius.

When my text and apparatus criticus were finished I discovered another and better copy of Macarius' book in a Jerusalem manuscript. It confirmed many of my emendations. I have to thank Mr. James E. Walsh of the Houghton Library at Harvard University for collating the Jerusalem manuscript with my own text and apparatus, of which he had prepared the typescript. He also assisted me with the collation of the text of Ephraem Syrus.

Harvard University
October 1953

WERNER JAEGER

PART ONE

GREGORY OF NYSSA'S TREATISE DE INSTITUTO CHRISTIANO

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The discovery of an original work of one of the great Christian writers of the fourth century, Gregory of Nyssa, brother of Basil of Caesarea and one of the pillars of the Eastern Church, is not only a major event for theological scholars and classicists but must give satisfaction to all who take a conscious interest in the transmission of our cultural heritage.

The work to which I refer, Gregory's Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκήσεως, has not been entirely unknown to us hitherto, but it now appears that we have possessed it only in the form of a highly defective excerpt that somehow or other found its way into Byzantine manuscript tradition [1]. In that tradition of the book, which I have been the first to investigate, the excerpt printed in Migne under the title *De instituto Christiano* cannot be traced back beyond a codex of the thirteenth century, now in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Besides this oldest source the abridged text exists only in two recent apographa of the Vienna manuscript not antedating the sixteenth

[1] The original text of the treatise on which the present inquiry is based and from which I shall quote is that of my own recent edition in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera vol. VIII, 1: Gregorii Nysseni Opera Ascetica* ediderunt Werner Jaeger, Johannes P. Cavarnos, Virginia Woods Callahan (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1952, 414 pp.). The treatise *De instituto Christiano* is to be found on pp. 1-89 of that volume. The abridged and mutilated form in which this work has hitherto been known is the version printed in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* vol. XLVI, 287-306.

century [1]. The abridgment was not made by Gregory himself but by a Byzantine scholar, who probably made it for his own use [2]. It was obviously compiled mechanically, for it preserves the original title that the excerptor found in his source, even though it refers to a part of the text wich he had omitted in his excerpt, so that the title now makes no sense [3]. This excerpt was translated into Latin and published without the

[1] For the text tradition of the treatise *De instituto Christiano* in general see my preface to the Leiden edition, *loc. cit.* p. 3-38; on the codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35, which has preserved the vulgate text of the epitome of this work, cf. *loc. cit.* p. 36 ff. From this codex are copied the two other extant manuscripts which contain the shortened version: codex Brit. Mus. Old Royal 16.D.XI (saec. XVI) and codex Urbinas graecus 9 (saec. XVII). A third copy of the Vindobonensis must have been the late Paris manuscript from which the Greek text of the treatise printed in the first edition was taken. That these three recent manuscripts are really copies of the Vindobonensis is proved by the lacunae which they all have in common (for the lost Paris ms. we now have only the text of the first printed edition): these lacunae are due to damaged portions of the Vindobonensis; cf. my preface, *loc. cit.* p. 37-38.

[2] The codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35, the source of the vulgate of the epitome (see n. 1), besides the shortened treatise *De instituto Christiano* contains several other works of Gregory of Nyssa in a similarly abridged form. The ms. is written in a minute but neat cursive, with numerous abbreviations which betray the hand of a trained scholar. Apparently the man who wrote these excerpts made them for his own use. Part of them have found their way into our printed editions. Surely for this we should not blame the excerptor.

[3] In some of our older and complete manuscripts (A, M) the title of the treatise is given in the form quoted above in the text: Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκήσεως; but codex S (Vat. gr. 1907) reads instead: πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιτήσαντας ἀσκητὰς (λόγον περὶ is missing) τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοποῦ καὶ τοῦ ὅπως χρὴ συνεῖναι ἀλλήλοις καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι. This refers to the fact mentioned in the proem of the longer version that a group of monks had asked Gregory to write a guide to the true ascetic life for them. The epitome combines both forms of the title, but the reference to the monks and their request no longer makes sense in the abridged version, since it omits the extensive proem which tells us the story of the origin of the work.

Greek text by Morellus (Paris 1606) [1]. Not much later the Greek text of the excerpt was incorporated, along with this Latin translation, into the *editio princeps* of Gregory's works published by the same Morellus (Paris 1615). An enlarged edition appeared in 1638, after new works of Gregory had been discovered [2], and this edition is the source from which Migne took his text of Gregory for the *Patrologia Graeca*. Thus it is in this fragmentary condition that we have read the treatise in question for more than three centuries. Although the work has aroused the attention, and finally the suspicion, of modern scholars and has been the subject of lively discussion, up to the present no one has taken the trouble to examine the manuscripts in which it is preserved. And so the extensive literature that it has called forth must now be declared antiquated, since it is based on a completely insufficient textual foundation.

No one, in fact, has ever approached the manuscripts and examined the text tradition of most of the works of Gregory of Nyssa. This author never had the good fortune of being edited by the Maurine fathers during the great period of their remarkable work, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though there is no doubt that after their monumental editions of Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and John Chrysostom they intended to give Gregory of Nyssa equal treatment. But the French Revolution put an end to their activities [3]. There-

[1] There seems to be no copy of this edition in any of the great libraries of the United States. I was able, however, to secure a photostatic copy of it for the Harvard Institute for Classical Studies from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The printer was Claudius Morellus, and the learned translator was Fredericus Morellus, his brother.

[2] They were published by Jacobus Gretser, S.J., in his Appendix to the first edition (Paris 1618). The editor of the 1615 edition was Fronto Ducaeus, S.J.

[3] The impact of the French Revolution on the editorial activities of the Maurine fathers is also evident from the long inter-

after scholarship in this field was carried on on a different level and for a long time—about a century—had for the most part to content itself with building on the old foundations. Attempts at a complete edition made by individuals, such as the Scotchman Forbes and the German Oehler, remained torsi [1], and indeed the task by far transcended the power of any single scholar. When, under the leadership of Adolf Harnack, the Academy of Sciences in Berlin began its work of preparing critical editions of Greek Christian writers, the scope of its program was announced as not extending beyond the time of the Council of Nicaea, and thus included neither Gregory of Nyssa nor any of the other great authors of the fourth century such as Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom.

It was due to the initiative of that great master of classical studies, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, of the University of Berlin, that there was conceived in 1908 a plan for a true *editio princeps* of Gregory of Nyssa deserving of the name. Wilamowitz, then sixty years of age and not prepared to invest the rest of his life in an edition of the works of a church father, was a universal historical scholar looking for unconquered fields in the late ancient period. He wanted to give classical scholarship new tasks and a fresh impetus. I

val between the publication of the first and the second volume of the edition of Gregory Nazianzen: the first volume appeared in Paris in 1778 after the death of the men who had done most of the work (du Frische, Louvard, Maran). The second volume did not appear until 1840, from materials accumulated by the same Benedictines.

[1] Of H. Forbes' critical edition only two fascicles of the first volume appeared (Burntislandiae 1855 and 1861). F. Oehler published only the first volume of his edition (Halis Saxonum 1865). There are however special editions of several treatises of Gregory of Nyssa by the Bavarian scholar J. G. Krabinger which are worth mentioning because new manuscript material was employed in them (Munich manuscripts).

was at that time a student of classical literature and philosophy, but since my early youth I had included the study of early Christian life and thought in my conception of the ancient world. I also combined a keen interest in the history of ideas with a special inclination towards textual problems and philology in the old grammatical sense of the term. So I became engaged in Wilamowitz's great undertaking. A companion of those labors was Professor G. Pasquali of Florence, who in 1925 published his edition of Gregory's letters (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung). My own contribution consisted of the two volumes containing Gregory's main dogmatic work, the books *Contra Eunomium*, published in Berlin in 1921.

Since 1925 nothing has been published, but I have continued the work on Gregory so far as has been possible in combination with work of a different character. After coming to the United States, I founded the Institute for Classical Studies at Harvard University in 1930, with the critical edition of Gregory as its main research project. With the assistance of younger scholars I have gathered together and examined the materials of the manuscript tradition, of which the Institute now has a large collection in photostatic reproduction. It was in the course of this systematic examination, extended to hundreds of manuscripts scattered throughout the world, that the original version of the treatise *De instituto Christiano* was discovered. It is the only form of this work to be found in the older manuscripts. There can be no doubt, and a detailed examination of the document over a period of years has confirmed this, that we are now for the first time able to read the complete text of this work of Gregory of Nyssa. Only now can we see its full scope and begin to realize its historical importance. On the basis of the

full text we can now determine the concrete situation and the period of the author's life in which it was written. Gregory himself informs us in the new version of the relationship of this treatise to his former works on the same subject [1]. Thus the book can be dated. It represents, in every sense of the term, Gregory's last word on the problem of the true ascetic life and its importance for the realization of the supreme goal of the Christian religion. At the time Gregory was writing, this was one of the most actual questions of the Christian world, especially in the Eastern Church. In the next chapter I shall try to acquaint the reader with the historical background of the treatise and with the rest of Gregory's ascetic works. The treatise is closely related to the organization of monastic life in Asia Minor, which was the achievement of Gregory's brother Basil. It is now clear that this work marks an important phase both in the life of Gregory himself and in the history of early Christian asceticism. I have therefore chosen it as an example in order to illustrate the nature and method of the entire undertaking of the new critical edition of Gregory of Nyssa [2].

One of the many tasks involved in preparing a modern philological edition is a consideration of the history of the preservation of the text. In my desire to trace the authentic form of the text as far back as possible I have had to extend my reading to the rich ascetic literature

[1] See the chapter of this book *The Date of Composition of the Treatise and its Chronological Relationship to the Other Ascetic Works of Gregory.*

[2] The 'edition' in this sense should comprise not only the critical constitution of the text on the basis of a complete investigation of the manuscript tradition, but also the inquiry into the problems involved in this task, such as authenticity, chronology, literary form, style and content of a work, including its relation to other works of the author and its history and place in the tradition.

of the Middle Ages, and have given special attention to the authors of the late fourth and fifth centuries in whose works I expected to detect traces of Gregory's ideal of the ascetic life. I shall pursue the results of these researches here only so far as they directly affect the textual history of the treatise. But they go far beyond this limit, and I shall deal with the great historical problem involved in this continuity in a separate book on the rise of the ascetic ideal. Though we have to draw such artificial lines of demarcation for methodical reasons, the history of a text cannot be divorced from the history of the influence its ideas have exercised on later ages; and although the relatively recent science of textual history has not always been treated in close connection with the history of ideas, it coincides with it to a large extent. So the preservation of Gregory's treatise coincides with the expansion of his authority in the monastic communities of the Greek-speaking East. This historical problem has hardly been touched up to the present time. Its dimensions can be indicated by the fact that the manuscripts preserving Gregory's works amount to more than twelve hundred.

Unfortunately the editions that we have to use for this period of his expanding influence are even less dependable than those of the text of Gregory himself. This is true especially of the extensive corpus of ascetic writings preserved under the pseudonym 'Macarius of Egypt'. Scholars have long observed a close connection between Gregory's work and some of the writings of 'Macarius'. But since they have possessed the treatise only in the fragmentary form of the excerpt printed in Migne, the results they have arrived at in their study of this connection are now strongly affected and indeed nullified by the discovery of the true text. This discovery definitely settles the question of the relationship between

Gregory's treatise and the formerly so-called 'great letter' (ep. II) of 'Macarius' as printed in Migne. The letter has been erroneously regarded as the source of the *De instituto Christiano*, Gregory's work being first considered a mere excerpt and finally condemned as spurious [1]. Its authenticity is now proved by the discovery of the complete text, whereas the so-called 'great letter' of 'Macarius' is shown to be a miserable compilation that is in part a literal copy of Gregory's treatise. As a work of 'Macarius' it has no value at all.

But this is by no means the entire story. In place of the spurious 'great letter' of 'Macarius' printed in Migne (ep. II), the true letter has recently been brought to light by Professor H. Dörries of Göttingen, who has devoted many years to preparing a real edition of the Macarius corpus [2]. He has done me the great kindness of allowing me to use reproductions of his own photostats of the two Vatican manuscripts that contain the mutilated text of the true letter. I was surprised to discover that the authentic letter is also very close to the complete text of Gregory's treatise as we now have it, though it is not a mechanical compilation from Gregory like the so-called 'great letter' of 'Macarius' in Migne. Thus the discovery of the complete text of Gregory's work gives a new direction to the whole 'Macarius' problem. Our result is, that like the other great ascetic authors of the late fourth and fifth centuries, from Evagrius Ponticus on, 'Macarius' is deeply indebted to Gregory of Nyssa. He is indebted in particular to the mystic-ascetic theology of our treatise, and the communities of monks whose religious practice and piety

[1] See the chapter of this book *The Authenticity of the Treatise De instituto Christiano.*

[2] See the chapter of this book *The Influence of Gregory's Treatise on the Theology of 'Macarius'. The Rediscovered Great Letter of 'Macarius' to the Monks and its Various Redactions.*

'Macarius' reflects were one of the channels through which Gregory's book was handed down to ninth-century Byzantine civilization, the center from which our extant manuscript tradition emanates. Thus to our surprise the rediscovered treatise of Gregory becomes the key to the historical understanding of that other newly-discovered ascetic work, the true 'great letter' of 'Macarius' to the monks. Since this highly interesting document of mystic theology has not yet been edited, I shall include a first edition of its complete text at the end of this volume [1], with the friendly consent of the future editors of the works of Macarius, Professors H. Dörries and E. Klostermann. The second part of my inquiry, which concerns the relationship of Gregory and Ps.-Macarius, will be based on this text.

There are other ways besides the Macarius tradition in which the influence of Gregory's ascetic thought has spread, and they in part transcend the boundaries of the Greek-speaking civilization of the East. Thus, for example, Gregory left an indelible stamp on the rising national literature and thought of Christian Syria, and several of his works were translated into Syriac. The present book cannot go into this problem, however, nor can it consider the analogous question of how the rise of this new ascetic philosophy in the Greek East affected the Occident. The Latin world had, by its nature and history, a different mentality. Its culture, though impregnated with the Greek heritage, was never as profoundly permeated by the religious mysticism of later Greek philosophy as were the countries of the eastern part of the Roman Empire. In matters of dogma the Romans simply had to accept the role of pupils, for the Latin mind had not yet reached a point of intellectual development at which it could compete with

[1] See pp. 233-301.

the Greek on an equal level. But the ascetic ideas of the East affected the moral and social structure of human life, and that made the reaction of the West in this sphere more violent. Modern historians of Christian dogma have not always sufficiently stressed this aspect. Thus the famous Pelagian controversy, which began not long after Gregory of Nyssa had written his treatise, is generally considered apart from the development of the ascetic ideal of human perfection in the Eastern Church, and is treated as a local issue raised by Pelagius, a British monk. But our sources still permit us to see the close connection of this grave conflict, which threatened to disrupt the unity of the Church, with the rise and rapid expansion of the Eastern asceticism that was then making headway in the Western world. In Gregory's treatise we find the issue formulated with great clarity as the Greek mind then saw it. The tradition of Greek ethical philosophy and its ideal of *areté* is very much alive in this Christian Platonist. From the point of view of the Pelagian controversy, which his treatise foreshadows, Gregory must be defined as a Semipelagian. He makes us see clearly how deeply rooted this position was in the Hellenic tradition of the Eastern Church. Here are conceptions of human nature, grace, and free-will which we shall meet again, not in St. Augustine or in Luther, but in the humanism of Erasmus, and there they grow from the same roots: the ascetic (and that means athletic) spirit of the Greek ideal of *areté*. We find in Gregory's work all the elements of the great disputes of later centuries that were to shake the Western world. They transcend by far the proportions of mere theological controversy, as their repercussions in history prove. When the issue is finally taken up by Erasmus, who defends Humanism against Reformation, even a

shortsighted eye will see that we are here facing one of those great problems which, independently of external forms of creed and doctrinal tradition, pervade the history of the human race and are actual at all times because they are eternal.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ASCETIC WORKS OF GREGORY OF NYSSA

Among the works of Gregory of Nyssa is a special group concerned with various aspects of the ascetic life, which during the fourth century had become one of the favored forms of Christian piety. To this group belongs the newly-discovered treatise Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν σκοποῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκήσεως, and since the present book will deal with the form and content of this work, it seems desirable to begin with a short survey of Gregory's ascetic writings in general, for they will provide the necessary historical background for the inquiry to follow.

When Gregory was writing, only a few decades had elapsed since Antony and Pachomius had chosen to leave the world and lead the existence of hermits in the deserts of Middle and Upper Egypt. Since then the monastic movement had made rapid headway in the Eastern Church and spread all over Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. Even apart from the general trend of his environment Gregory of Nyssa was linked with this movement by strong personal ties. His older brother and much admired teacher, Basil, leader of the orthodox church in Asia Minor and archbishop of Caesarea, was one of the founders of monasticism in that part of the Roman Empire. Though he had had predecessors such as Methodius and Eustathius, it was Basil who laid down for the Greek-speaking church of the East—as St. Benedict did later for the Western Church—

the rules of the monastic life [1]. In these rules he had set up the standards of the Basilian order, the one great monastic order of the Greek Church, and they have lasted and maintained their authority up to the present time [2]. They were originally meant for the communities of monks which Basil himself had established in the Pontus on the banks of the river Iris, for he had their development and consolidation always very much at heart. The *Rules*, which are preserved to us in two redactions, the *Regulae fusius tractatae* and the *Regulae brevius tractatae*, give us a clear insight into the organization and internal discipline of this new kind of religious society, which Basil intended to take the place of the more individualistic way of life of the oldest Egyptian hermits [3]. It was due chiefly to his influence that the word 'monastic', which in his own terminology still signifies the *lonely* life (ἐρημικὸς βίος) of a hermit, came to change its meaning and connote the new *common* life of the *monasteria*, the settlements in

[1] The *Regula Sancti Benedicti* refers to Benedict's precursor and model Basil of Caesarea ch. LXXIII and takes over many rules from him.

[2] See Dom David Amant, *L'ascèse monastique de Saint Basil* (Éditions de Maredsous 1948), who gives the most exhaustive analysis of the structure of Basil's ascetic thought and system of life. He has included (p. xx-xxiv) a good bibliography. Of the literature listed there the most important and still useful books are E. F. Morison, *St. Basil and his Rule: A Study in Early Monasticism* (Oxford 1912) and W. K. L. Clarke, *St. Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism* (Cambridge 1913).

[3] Both *Regulae* are reprinted from the edition of Basil's works by the Maurine fathers in Migne *P. G.* XXXI, 889-1052 and 1052-1305. On the other ascetic works preserved under Basil's name, comprised in the same volume (*P. G.* XXXI, 619-888 and 1305-1428), and on the question of their authenticity and character, see the preface, *P. G.* XXXI, 69-139 (Pars 1-9), where the critical arguments of the great patristic scholars of the past are reproduced; and see also W. K. L. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil* (London 1925), particularly the Introductions.

which from Basil's time on men were 'lonely' together.

Basil's foundation of monastic communities and of the order which still bears his name is a phenomenon of great interest for an age in which the basic forces of individual and society are in conflict and are seeking a new *modus vivendi*. After Christianity had become the state religion under Constantine, its relationship to existing society was an acute problem for the Church, since it was now in danger of being used merely as a pillar to carry the shaky structure of the old state and society. This role gave the Church great power and called for a new type of leader, such as Athanasius and Basil, both of whom were rulers as well by nature as by force of circumstances. But they were in the first place great religious personalities, and it is the combination of these two aspects of their character that fascinates us. In this situation the mobilization and organization of the steadily increasing element of the μονάζοντες into orderly constituted and functioning religious communities was a step of the greatest historical importance. On the one hand it protected the Church against individualistic dissolution from within and gave the orthodox group which was constantly threatened by heretic splits a kind of standing army to guarantee its solid unity: through it Basil's liturgy and Basil's theological doctrine became the classical expression and the lasting form of the piety of the Eastern Church. On the other hand it gave the leaders of the Church a power which could be and was used against the State whenever it tried to interfere with the internal problems of the Church. But although the organization of the monastic element had these effects, they were nevertheless of a merely accidental nature: the main motive for separation from ordinary society was the desire of the religious individual for that true

freedom which he hoped to achieve through obedience to the will of God alone. Basil's monasteries were intended not as an encroachment upon spiritual liberty but as a means to a form of life in and through which the individual could bring his own development to higher perfection and greater completion than he could by isolating himself.

Basil's friend Gregory Nazianzen and his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa could not remain mere sympathetic observers of the constructive work which this dynamic personality was carrying on throughout a life of hardship and endurance. They were inevitably drawn into the orbit of his activity, and they shared more and more his ideals and his labors. Another link which connected Gregory of Nyssa with the rise of monasticism in Asia Minor was the outstanding role which his older sister Macrina played in the parallel development of monastic settlements for women who chose a life of virginity, poverty, and devotion apart from the rest of human society and its interests and pleasures. It is evident from our sources that a profound religious earnestness and fervid enthusiasm inspired these people, for without such inner resources they would have been unable to overcome the difficulties with which they were confronted during the first experimental stage of their undertaking. Gregory has given a colorful picture of their hard struggle in his fascinating book *The Life of Macrina*, which he composed shortly after his sister's death in 380 A.D. [1]. The life of the monastic community there described is

[1] The older editions of this work, among them the text reprinted from the second Paris edition (1638) in *P. G.* XLVI, 960-1000, are now superseded by the critical recension of the entire manuscript tradition in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* vol. VIII, 1 (*Opera Ascetica* ed. W. Jaeger, J. P. Cavarnos, V. Woods Callahan), Leiden 1952, p. 345-414 (ed. V. Woods Callahan).

centered about the great figure of Macrina. She is its very soul and its living model. Gregory treats her with an awe that makes her command our deep respect and admiration, while the self-effacing humility of her younger brother, who has put all his feeling for her into this encomiastic narrative, wins our hearts through the charm of his perfectly human personality and sincere modesty. He appears in very much the same light in his relationship to his brother and master Basil wherever he speaks of him in his writings throughout his life[1].

Gregory's *Life of Macrina* is not printed among his ascetic works in Migne's edition, but it really belongs to this group despite its different literary form. In this biography[2] and in his *Life of Gregorius Thaumaturgus* the author contributed two classical models for the nascent 'Lives of the Saints' literature. *The Life of Macrina* provides a perfect contrast to the abstract and austere character of Basil's great *Rules*, in which he

[1] Gregory also speaks often and with great reverence of his younger brother Peter, to whom he dedicated several long works, the *Contra Eunomium*, the *De opificio hominis*, and the *In Hexaemeron*, all of them written or at least begun (the *Contra Eunomium*) soon after Basil's death. In the *Vita Macrinae* (p. 411, 6) Peter appears as superior of the men's monastery (ἀνδρών) on the river Iris in the Pontus, while Macrina heads the women's coenobium.

[2] Its form as a biography (βίος), which as a literary genre had a long history in Greek literature (see Friedrich Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form*, Leipzig 1901), distinguishes this book from Gregory's paraenetic treatises on the ascetic life, but at the outset he calls it 'an epistle', and this it has in common with the treatises *De professione Christiana* and *De perfectione* (see p. 27 and p. 29). The literary form of the ἐπιστολιμαῖος χαρακτήρ had some influence on that of the narrative biography. But in a letter addressed to a personal friend Gregory could speak at some length of himself and of the part he had played during Macrina's last days. This whole section of the Vita has therefore a high autobiographic value for us, and indeed we owe to it most of what we know about Gregory's personality other than what we learn from his letters.

appears as lawgiver. But the same can be said of all of Gregory's ascetic works; they all form an important complement to that fundamental codification, and it is good to keep this in mind when reading them. They furnish a complement to Basil not by mere chance, however, for the contrast is a deliberate one. Gregory often wrote his books with the express intention of supplementing his brother's writings or directly to explain or defend them against their critics. Gregory gradually grew into this role, and although it seems to demand much selfrestriction, it was one of the causes of Gregory's own success. Basil must have impressed him from the beginning with the idea that they could prevail only if they combined their forces, and Gregory clung to this idea even after Basil's death. The same is true with regard to his ascetic treatises. This would be self-evident without his saying so, but he expressly states in the first pages of his earliest ascetic work, *On Virginity*, that now that the details of the ascetic life (αἱ μερικαὶ ὑποθῆκαι τοῦ τοιούτου βίου) have been studied and settled (ἐπετηδεύθησαν) by those who are concerned with the exact form of this life, he himself would like to write an encomium of virginity [1]. In presenting his subject in this form he hopes to avoid the expansion of the theme to excessive length. He intends to approach it in a more general way, but this, he assures us, does not imply a criticism, since the general precepts (γενικώτερα παραγγέλματα) which he is going to give in his treatise somehow include the concrete details (ἐμπεριείληφε τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον) [2]. This expression clearly refers to the kind of treatment which Basil had given the same subject in his famous *Rules*, for they are concerned chiefly with the daily

[1] *De virg.* p. 248, 18.

[2] *De virg.* 248, 18-24. For the details of the 'philosophic life' Gregory again refers in ch. 23 (p. 333, 15) to the written instructions (ἔγγραφοι διδασκαλίαι) that are available.

details of monastic practice. Thus after the groundwork had been laid by Basil, Gregory thought it desirable to present the ideal of the ascetic life in a more persuasive fashion. He chose for this purpose the literary form of paraenetic speeches (λόγοι παραινετικοί). It was through this medium that the philosophers of ancient Greece had tried to convert their readers to their 'philosophical way of life' (φιλόσοφος βίος), from Plato's and Aristotle's protreptic writings down to the *Protrepticus* of the Neoplatonist Iamblichus, a book which borrowed its title, form, and content from those models of the classical period of Greek philosophy [1]. Gregory, to be sure, was far from that slavish sort of imitation, but in propagating the ideal of the monastic life he too had these ancient masters of ἡ ἔξω φιλοσοφία in mind [2], though his relationship to them was more complex, as was natural for a Christian.

Whatever the differences between Christian thinker and Greek philosopher, Gregory felt that the idea of the ascetic life was a parallel and in many ways a direct continuation of that noble tradition of the *vita contemplativa* begun by the philosophers of ancient Greece [3]. That

[1] On Plato's *Euthydemus*, which contains among other things a specimen of a protreptic speech in Socrates' fashion, and on Aristotle's famous *Protrepticus* (imitated by Cicero in his *Hortensius*), see my *Aristotle* (2d ed., Oxford 1948), p. 54-101. On Iamblichus' *Protrepticus* as an imitation of Plato's and Aristotle's book of this genre, cf. *loc. cit.* p. 61 sq. On the history and *topoi* of the whole genre, cf. Paul Hartlich, *De exhortationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum historia et indole* (*Leipziger Studien* vol. XI p. 2, Leipzig 1889).

[2] Expressions frequently used by Gregory to designate secular Greek culture and philosophy are ἡ ἔξω (or ἔξωθεν) σοφία, ἡ ἔξω φιλοσοφία, ἡ ἔξω παίδευσις, ἡ ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐγκύκλιος παίδευσις.

[3] On the ideal of the *vita contemplativa* in Greek philosophy see Franz Boll, *Vita Contemplativa* (Ber. Heidelberg. Akad. 1920); my *On the Origin and Cycle of the Philosophic Ideal of Life* (translated from Ber. Berlin. Akad. 1928, phil.-hist. Kl.)

he saw his own ideal in this perspective is obvious from the language he uses in his ascetic treatises. He makes frequent and conscious use of the terms of the philosophic tradition. Throughout his works he calls the life of the monks 'the philosophic life', and he contrasts it and the kind of virtue to which it aspires with 'the common life' (κοινότερος βίος) and the virtue that corresponds to it[1]. Plato and Aristotle had been the first to make such a distinction between the virtue of ordinary civic life (δημοσία ἀρετή) and that of the philosopher, which is based on the knowledge of divine Being[2]. And like Plato and Aristotle, Gregory has to face the problem of how to fit his new 'philosophic' type of life and personality, the monastic ideal, into the scheme of existing human society[3]. The analogy between his terminology and thought and that of the ancient initiators of the philosophic ideal of life is a perfect one. The ascetics themselves are called by him 'philosophers' or 'the philosophic

in my *Aristotle* (2d ed.) p. 426-461; A.-J. Festugière, *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon* (Paris 1936).

[1] See p. 33, 82.

[2] Plat. *Rep.* VI 500 D; VII 518 D; *Phaed.* 69 A-B; *Legg.* XII 968 A. In the *Protrepticus* Aristotle still asserts with Plato that the virtue of the philosopher is different from ordinary moral or civic virtue. It is φρόνησις, the specific activity of the philosophic mind, which is at the same time contemplation of divine Being and a higher form of moral goodness (see my *Aristotle* p. 79 sq.).

[3] According to Aristotle the life of the philosopher is a βίος κατὰ τὴν κρατίστην ἀρετήν and therefore closer to the divine life; and so is the εὐδαιμονία that it gives him, compared with that which is the fruit of ordinary civic or ethical virtue. There is a difference of degree between these two forms of life. The former is a life devoted to θεωρία (*Eth. Nic.* X 7, 1177 a 12 sq.), the second is called ὁ βίος κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετήν (*Eth. Nic.* X 8, 1178 a 9 sq.). This part of Aristotle's *Ethics* can be traced back to his early works, particularly to the *Protrepticus*, in which he still speaks as a disciple of Plato; see my *Aristotle*, p. 61 sq. On Plato's distinction of philosophic and common virtue see p. 3.

chorus'. Their activity is called 'contemplation' (θεωρία), and to the present day this word, even when we use it to designate the θεωρητικὸς βίος of the ancient Greek philosophers, has preserved the overtone which transformation into a technical term of Christian asceticism has added to it [1]. While it is true that the actual content of Christian monastic life differed widely from the activity of the intellect (νοῦ ἐνέργεια) in which the Aristotelian philosopher sees true life [2] or from Plato's 'theoria' of intelligible forms, the analogy is nevertheless justified insofar as Christianity, in its highest form, meant for Gregory a sublimation of religion into the knowledge (γνῶσις) and contemplation of divine mysteries [3]. As Greek philosophy culminated in 'theology' [4], though on a purely rational or mystical level, so Christian religion was on its highest level to become 'philosophy', *i.e.* speculative theology [5].

But the parallel between monastic life, as understood by Gregory, and the contemplative ideal of the Greek philosophers goes far beyond the borrowing of a few

[1] *De virg.* 247, 7; 248, 6; 335, 16. *Vita Macr.* 379, 18; 381, 20; 385, 13. *Vita Moysis* 355 B etc. The use of θεωρία, θεωρεῖν, θεωρητικός is frequent in Gregory's works.

[2] Arist. *Metaph.* Λ 7, 1072 b 26-27.

[3] On the concept of γνῶσις in Gregory's theology see the chapter *The Theology of the Treatise*, p. 73.

[4] See my *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford 1947), p. 4 and the entire first chapter, also p. 62. Cf. my *Humanism and Theology* (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press 1943) p. 45 sq. for the theological aspect of Greek philosophical thought as a whole.

[5] The influence of Greek philosophy on the Christian religion, though always active, reached its height the moment the latter entered the stage of its history at which it developed its own theology. This happened in the school of Alexandria. But it may well be said that Christianity came to develop a theology and to feel the urgent need of it *because* Greek philosophy had always insisted on a rational approach to the problem with which religion is concerned and thereby had set an example.

terms or a superficial comparison of the two forms of life (βίοι). Gregory tried to build up a complete theory of the content and goal of the Christian ascetic life with the help of the ancient tradition, from which even the words ἄσκησις and ἀσκητής derived. If Basil gave the settlers in the Pontus who had adopted the monastic ideal a constitution and a discipline, *i.e.* the things which every community requires in order to function, Gregory gave monastic life its spiritual form. He was by nature more inclined to meditation than his great brother, and by his culture he was more deeply immersed in Greek philosophical tradition. So he created, as it were, the philosophy of monastic asceticism and with it inspired the lives of those who had taken the vow to keep Basil's *Rules*. The foundation of that philosophy was the Christian faith as it was laid down in the Nicene Creed and interpreted by the Cappadocian school of theology. But Gregory presented the Christian religion as culminating in the contemplation of the divine Being and its eternal Will. The sanctification of man was interpreted as a process of purification of the soul and as its gradual ascent and return to divine Being. The ardent and emotional Christian piety of Asia Minor, the fruit of centuries of religious worship, was blended in this synthesis with the λογικὴ λατρεία of Platonic theology. Thus Gregory became the great master of Christian mystic theology (θεογνωσία, μυστικὴ θεολογία) in the Eastern Church. It has left its indelible stamp on the religious tradition of the orthodox faith, but it has found its most characteristic and enduring expression in the ideals and practice of Eastern monastic life.

I shall now give a brief survey of the rest of Gregory's ascetic writings. Compared with the works of Basil they have a much more theoretical character, but they combine this speculative with a paraenetic element.

The treatise Περὶ παρθενίας (*De virginitate*) already mentioned interprets the ascetic commandment of virginity in a philosophical sense [1]. Whereas *The Life of Macrina* represents the character and actions of an outstanding religious personality as an embodiment of the ascetic life, the *De virginitate* explains and extols the ideal as such in order to induce the reader to embrace this form of life himself. This work is, as I have said before, the earliest of Gregory's ascetic writings. In it Gregory speaks of Basil as his 'bishop and father' [2], a statement which could be made only if Gregory himself was not yet a bishop. This would date the book before the year 370 or 371. That Basil was still alive when Gregory wrote it is stated explicitly. At the end Gregory makes a transition from the praise of virginity to a description of the type of man who is the realization of this ideal. He tells us in the introduction that in reality he is referring to Basil in this epilogue, but he adds that he has not made the portrayal too personal in order that it might retain its timeless truth even when the man here praised is no longer alive [3]. As a consequence this part of the work lacks the personal charm which is so attractive in *The Life of Macrina*, but we must remember that this very elimination of individual features in the portrait of the perfect ascetic is a truly Greek thing and had been common to all Greek art in the classical period.

Since a full analysis of the content of this work is

[1] One need only compare this work with similar previous attempts by Greek and Latin writers, the books of Tertullian or the *Symposium* of Methodius of Olympus or the *De virginibus* of St. Ambrose, to see the great difference of Gregory's philosophical approach to the problem.

[2] *De virg.* 249, 4 τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

[3] *De virg.* 249, 8. See the ideal portrait of Basil as καθηγεμών of the 'philosophic life' in chapter 23, especially p. 334, 14 sq.

not possible here, it may suffice to indicate its theme. Virginity, according to Gregory, is a metaphorical term designating a quality of the soul rather than a condition of the body. In its absolute and perfect form it is that purity which is to be found only in the divine Being [1]. When the term is applied in a derivative sense to the human soul, it refers to its participation in that quality of the divine nature. Thus the soul of the pure man becomes a link (σύνδεσμος) between the human and the divine world [2]. The quality of virginity therefore is related to the process of the perfection (τελείωσις) of the true Christian who aims at attaining the divine good.

This approach to the problem is ontological and Platonic. Gregory follows in the footsteps of the founders of Christian theology in Alexandria, Clement and especially Origen, for whom both Basil and Gregory Nazianzen had a great admiration [3]. This is of course not the place to discuss the relationship of Gregory of Nyssa to the theological thought and methods of Origen, a problem which gave rise to bitter controversies after the doctrines of Origen were declared in part heretic. It would be interesting to illustrate Gregory's method of approach by going into a detailed analysis of the concept of 'link' (σύνδεσμος), which plays such a dominant role in Neoplatonic thought; but I have traced its development and indicated its importance in ancient philosophy elsewhere and do not want to repeat what I have said there [4]. According to this view of the nature

[1] *De virg.* 254, 20 sq.

[2] *De virg.* 255, 10. On παρθενία as ἀπάθεια of the soul see *De virg.* chapter 5.

[3] They even made a selection, which still exists, from Origen's works and published it under the title *Philokalia.* Critical edition by A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen* (Cambridge 1893). English translation of it by G. Lewis (Edinburgh 1911).

[4] See my *Nemesios von Emesa* (Berlin 1914), pt. II chapter 2, *Syndesmos* p. 96-137.

of the universe, the various grades of being such as inorganic and organic, plant and animal, animal and deity, are not as sharply distinguished and separated from each other as we ordinarily suppose, but are connected with one another by certain mixed forms combining the qualities of two contiguous grades of being and constituting a bridge between them. Thus the so-called zoöphytes possess, as their name indicates, both plant and animal qualities, so that they serve as a link between these two realms of being and combine in their nature both opposites. In the same way man stands at the boundary separating animal and deity, for he combines in his nature the qualities of an animal with those of the divine Being. The former is represented by his psychophysical nature (including what we call soul), whereas the latter resides in that part of the soul which we call spirit (πνεῦμα) or intellect (νοῦς). Instead of assuming an absolute hiatus between God and the world, this view considers man an intermediate stage and his spirit the link (σύνδεσμος) between the divine realm and the animal world. The underlying idea is the interpretation of the world as an ascending ladder of being leading up to the nature of the divine. This Neoplatonic conception is reflected in more than one passage in Gregory. It appears in greater detail in the work of Nemesius, bishop of Emesa, *On the Nature of Man* [1].

It is interesting to see how Gregory applies this view

[1] This work, which was written in the fourth century, was the first handbook of Christian anthropology, and as such it exercised a lasting influence on mediaeval thought, especially in the Latin West (through its translation by Alfanus, bishop of Salerno, in the thirteenth century). But in choosing this subject Nemesius was following in the footsteps of Gregory of Nyssa, who became the true founder of Christian philosophical anthropology when he wrote his great work *De opificio hominis*. The only drawback of this book, in the eyes of later and more scholastic ages, lay in its not being a systematic manual.

of being to the problem of virginity. Purity (καθαρότης) had been one of the predicates which Greek philosophers had attributed to the nature of the intellect (νοῦς) [1]. Thus the intellect is the link between the animal world (including that part of man which belongs to it) and the divine, and purification becomes the road by which man ascends to the divine. This is what Gregory understands by 'virginity' [2]. We cannot here trace Gregory's thought throughout the book and see how he tries to fit this conception of the most perfect form of human nature into the reality of daily life, though from a psychological point of view this is one of the most interesting aspects of his work, especially since he admits that he himself is living in the married state [3]. It must suffice to say that 'virginity' is in this scheme closely related to that fundamental concept of Gregory's theological anthropology, the idea of perfection and virtue. This leads us to his other ascetic writings, all of which are concerned with this idea in one way or another [4].

We find it first in Gregory's treatise Περὶ τοῦ τί τὸ Χριστιανῶν ὄνομα ἢ ἐπάγγελμα (*Quid nomen professiove Christianorum sibi velit*) [5]. This work is written in the form of a letter to a certain Harmonius, and throughout there is a personal tone which suggests that it is a real letter and not merely a convenient literary form. This

[1] So did Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, and, comprising their views, the Neoplatonists.

[2] The interpretation of 'virginity' as καθαρότης, ἀφθαρσία, and ἀπάθεια makes it possible for Gregory to use it as a bridge to connect his Christian theology with the philosophical theology of the Greeks and to turn the latter to his own use.

[3] See *De virg.* chapter 3.

[4] This is most evident in the chapters of the book that deal with the unity and harmony of the virtues, especially chapter 18.

[5] See my edition of this book, which is usually quoted as *De professione Christiana,* in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* vol. VIII, 1 (Leiden 1952) p. 129-142.

young Harmonius apparently revered Gregory as a great teacher and had written him several times without having received an answer. In the present letter Gregory makes good his former lack of response [1]. The letter is expanded into a little treatise, but the personal epilogue in which Gregory returns once more to his point of departure maintains the epistolary character of the work, in spite of its length and philosophical content. It seems to have gone unnoticed that we are in a position to date this book. It is a work of Gregory's old age, as he himself indicates in one passage where he compares Harmonius to a plectrum which has struck the strings of his old lyre [2]. Gregory answers the question contained in the title by proving that Christianity is the imitation of the divine nature. This is the famous definition of *areté* which Plato gives in the *Theaetetus* [3]. Christianity, in other words, is interpreted here as the perfection of man, his *areté* [4].

Gregory takes up the theme of perfection again in another of his ascetic writings, Περὶ τελειότητος καὶ ὁποῖον δεῖ εἶναι τὸν Χριστιανόν (*De perfectione et qualem oporteat esse Christianum*) [5]. This book too is dedicated to an individual, the same monk Olympius to whom Gregory had addressed (according to some manuscripts) his *Life of Macrina* [6], but it is decidedly too long for a real letter.

[1] *De prof. Chr.* 129, 5-11.

[2] *De prof. Chr.* 130, 10-11.

[3] Plat. *Theaet.* 176 B; see also *Rep.* 613 B.

[4] On the importance of the concept of the formation of man for Gregory's idea of a Christian *paideia* in the *De professione Christiana*, see my article 'Von Affen und wahren Christen' in *Festschrift für Karl Reinhardt* (Berlin 1952).

[5] Cf. my edition of the *De perfectione* (also referred to as *De perfecta Christiani forma*) in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* vol. VIII, 1, p. 143 sq.

[6] There are some important variants in the name of the addressee in our manuscripts (see *Vita Macr.* 370): Hierius,

In fact, the short dedication at the beginning and the epilogue, which does not refer to the addressee at all, strike quite a different note from the intimate tone of the letter to Harmonius discussed above. There a real letter has been expanded into a short treatise, but without losing its essential epistolary character. Here a didactic work of general scope is offered to Olympius in the conventional style of literary dedication. Even so, it is hard to draw a sharp line of distinction between the two forms, because the letter form had long since become a literary genre.

The fact that Gregory returns to the subject of his letter to Harmonius in the *De perfectione* shows clearly that it was of paramount interest to him. It seems likely that the *De perfectione* was written after the letter to Harmonius, for it contains a much more exhaustive discussion of the problem and looks like a *retractatio*. Even the point of departure is the same as in the letter: Gregory again begins with the question of the meaning of the appellative 'Christians' [1], as he had done in the smaller work. From there he proceeds to the discussion of the problem of perfection. But whereas in the *Quid nomen professiove Christianorum sibi velit* he simply took over Plato's definition of perfection as imitation of the divine or assimilation to God, and then equated the essence of Christianity with this definition, he chooses a more specifically Christian way of approach in the *De perfectione*. He says that the appellative 'Christians' is derived from the name of Christ; therefore in order to understand the former we ought first to interpret the latter; and so he engages in a long and learned inquiry into the various names which are applied to Christ in

prefect of Cappadocia, and Euprepius, bishop of Perta. I shall take up this question in a special article.

[1] *De perf.* 173, 15 sq.

the Scriptures. This more theological method [1] leads him to discuss his Christology, and this question takes up the greater part of the work, the problem of perfection being thereby postponed to the end. All this is more easily understandable if this fuller treatment of the problem was written later than the letter to Harmonius. That would date the *De perfectione* fairly late in the author's life, since we have shown that according to his own words he wrote the letter to Harmonius in his old age [2]. If the *De perfectione* was written even later, this would impart special meaning to Gregory's statement at the beginning of the book that he would prefer, instead of mere words, to set up his own life as an example but that his own perfection is not far enough advanced for him to do so, though he is hopeful of someday attaining the goal. In his earlier work *De virginitate* he had set up Basil as such an example [3], but at that time it would not have occurred to him to think of himself as one who might also become an example someday.

Gregory always liked to single out a problem for more extensive treatment at a later date when there was not time to do it full justice at the moment. This is the Platonic way, and Platonic was the training of his mind. How often had Plato later expanded a problem briefly touched on in an earlier dialogue! Gregory disliked

[1] This method had already been used by ancient Greek theologians, who collected and speculated on the various names (ἐπικλήσεις) attributed to their gods, from which they tried to derive some insight into their hidden nature. But Christian thought made this old method of speculation *de natura deorum* a vehicle for mystic theology in a long series of works, from Gregory of Nyssa and Dionysius the Areopagite to the famous book of the sixteenth century Spanish mystic Fray Luís de Leon, *Los Nombres de Cristo*.

[2] See supra p. 28.

[3] See supra p. 24.

the systematic character and syllogistic sagacity of Aristotle's writings [1]. Only rarely does he make a special effort to be more didactic and systematic, e.g. in the *Oratio catechetica*; and even there the austerity of this form of presentation is tempered by his rhetorical fervor. As a rule he prefers to yield to the impulse of the moment. In the first book *Contra Eunomium* he gets involved in the theological problem of what is meant by subordination or subjection when this word is applied in the Scriptures to Christ [2]. He pushes the discussion only to a certain point, as far as it is conducive to the present purpose, then cuts it off by saying that this is a question to which a special inquiry ought to be devoted. The special inquiry in this case was to be his later treatise *In illud, Quando sibi subiecerit omnia* [3]. This very example proves that although Gregory has no closed system, there is a systematic coherence in his thought and a core of basic concepts to which his treatment of the Christian religion reverts, from whatever side he may approach it.

For similar reasons Gregory returns to the problem of perfection in his book Περὶ τελειότητος (*De perfectione*). This word designates one of the basic concepts of his thought by which he tries to link together his Christian

[1] The passages that I have collected *s.v. Aristoteles* in the *Index nominum* of my edition of *Contra Eunomium* (Berlin 1921), vol. II p. 390, all stress the technological and formalistic character of Aristotle's method. It was not made more attractive for Gregory by the fact that the Arian Eunomius, his opponent, had used Aristotelian categories and distinctions throughout his work. Nevertheless, Gregory himself uses the syllogistic method of demonstration to a large extent.

[2] *Contra Eunomium* vol. I p. 77, 27 sq.

[3] *Contra Eunomium* I p. 78, 17: ὡς πλείονος καὶ φιλοπονωτέρας δεόμενον τῆς ἐξηγήσεως πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὑπερθήσομαι. These words the editor of the treatise *In illud, Quando sibi subiecerit omnia*, the Rev. J. K. Downing, rightly refers to this work in the preface to his still unpublished edition.

faith and the Hellenic tradition. Perfection, he states in the first sentence, means a life lived in accordance with virtue (ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίος). This definition connects the book not only with the treatise *Quid nomen professiove Christianorum sibi velit* but also with the *De virginitate*, which has the subtitle προτρεπτικὴ ἐπιστολὴ εἰς τὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν βίον[1]. There are also several other works of Gregory, such as the *In psalmorum inscriptionem*, the *In Cantica Canticorum*, and the *Vita Moysis*, which are devoted to the problem of the life of perfect *areté*. There is not room to include these works in the present survey, but in a broad sense they must be counted among the ascetic books of Gregory, though they are not usually considered as such and are separated from this group in the printed editions. At least there is a close relationship between them and the ascetic treatises properly so called, as the progress of this inquiry will make clear[2].

In the Scriptures there is no absolute equivalent for the word 'perfection' in the classical Greek sense, but for one who had been brought up in the Greek tradition it was natural to interpret a Jewish-Christian concept such as the word τέλειος in the New Testament or the word ἁγιασμός ('sanctification'), both important for Christian ascetic life, in the sense of the term 'perfection' inherited from the Greek philosophers. Once this equation was established, the identification of this

[1] The question whether this title refers to the entire work *De virginitate* or only to the introductory epistle need not be discussed here. It is a problem of some importance, however, for the history of the text, and the opinion of the editor, John Cavarnos, for which he gives his reasons in the preface (*Gregorii Nysseni Opera* vol. VIII, 1, p. 237 sq.), that the introductory letter and the *capitulatio* belong to a second edition of this early work, seems very plausible to me.

[2] See the chapters of this book *The Theology of the Treatise* (*De instituto Christiano*), and *The Date of Composition of the Treatise and its Chronological Relationship to the other Ascetic Works of Gregory*,

concept with a 'life in accordance with virtue' (ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίος) was the logical consequence. For that was what τελειότης meant to every Greek [1]. With these first steps the foundation of Gregory's theory of ascetic perfection was laid. Christian life was incorporated in the classical tradition of *areté* [2], though it marked a new epoch in that tradition. On this basis Gregory built up a new Christian ideal of the philosophic life (φιλόσοφος βίος) corresponding to the Greek philosophical ideal of life and a new pattern of ascetic virtue (ἀρετή) corresponding to that of the man of perfect virtue in Greek philosophy.

This conception certainly goes beyond what we have in the New Testament, for there the concept of virtue (ἀρετή) is extremely rare, and it does not play an outstanding part in the thought of Jesus or the apostles [3]. But compare with this the frequent use of the words ἀρετή and *virtus* and their predominant role in the works of the Greek and Latin fathers. They adopted this concept from the classical tradition of the Greek and Roman world and from its ethical philosophy and ideals. Of course they could not have done so without giving the word ἀρετή, *virtus*, a new Christian meaning, but thereby they continued the ancient tradition and imparted new life to it. It is obvious that from the Christian

[1] The adjective τέλειος is used with the article for 'the perfect man' by Plato, Aristotle, and later writers, but it occurs also in connection with ἀρετή or with the names of single virtues. It also appears often connected with βίος and εὐδαιμονία. The noun τελειότης meaning 'perfection of virtue' or the possession of goods first occurs as an established philosophical term in the *Definitiones* that go under Plato's name (412 B and D).

[2] The history of the classical Greek tradition of *areté* is to a large extent identical with the development of Greek *paideia*; see my *Paideia, The Ideals of Greek Culture* (Oxford and New York 1939-44), 3 vols.

[3] The three passages are Phil. 4, 8, I Petr. 2, 9, and II Petr. 1, 3.

point of view great dangers were inherent in this attempt at transforming and absorbing a powerful tradition in which every word, however diluted and conventional it may have become in the course of centuries, had its own ring and specific evocation. And yet it was only by its reception into the Greek-speaking world that the new religion could attain true universality and world dominance. We would not be Christians today if the religion of the apostles had not gone through the process we are now witnessing in the case of all the great teachers of the early Church: the process of 'translating' the language and meaning of the original ideas and documents of Christianity into the fundamental categories of Greek thought and language. This 'translation' transcended by far the task of making a literal version from an oriental language into Greek. That had been the first step which was achieved in the apostolic age. The real task began only at the moment when this was done and the religious content of these documents, which was the product of another spiritual climate and soil, had become accessible to the Greek-speaking world. The next step was for the millions who were heirs to Greek cultural tradition to take possession of the original sources of the new religion in a deeper sense by transforming them into the categories of their own mind. This too was 'translation', but translation on a higher level. Gregory of Nyssa is one of the great interpreters of the Christian religion who consciously brought about this transformation, though more than once he 'goes too far' in his attempt to hellenize Christian tradition for his audience [1]. But when we use this expression we must be aware that we are speaking not as his-

[1] We shall see later that some of his Christian contemporaries reproached him with the charge of interpolating Greek philosophical patterns (τύποι) into the Christian faith; cf. p. 122.

torians of the late ancient period but either as modern Protestants, rigidly taking the Scriptures as their only criterion of what is Christian, or as Catholics, applying the established dogma of the Church as a yardstick even to those Christian writers who lived at a time when that doctrine was not yet definitely established. In an author such as Gregory of Nyssa we see this process still in its development, and that is not the least of the reasons for the keen interest a historical mind takes in him.

We observe this most clearly in another treatise in which Gregory attempts to expound his philosophy of the ascetic life as a whole. It is entitled Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκήσεως. The Latin form of the title which we find in the editions is either *De proposito secundum Deum* or *De instituto Christiano.* Both titles are used in Migne, the first at the beginning of the book and the second in the headlines of every page. It is well to remember that they do not designate two different works, but are simply two different translations of the Greek title. Neither is satisfactory. The complete form of the title in Migne is longer: Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκήσεως καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιτήσαντας ἀσκητὰς <λόγον περὶ> τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοποῦ καὶ τοῦ ὅπως χρὴ συνεῖναι ἀλλήλοις καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι ὑποτύπωσις [1].

This is the work with which the present study is concerned. In its old form as printed in Migne's edition the treatise presented a number of problems which have been gradually observed and discussed in the literature of recent decades. But as I have briefly stated in the introduction, the text of Migne, on which the views of modern scholars are based, is that of a late Byzantine

[1] On this contaminated form of the title see the Introduction, p. 4 n. 2.

excerpt [1]. A thorough examination of the whole manuscript tradition of the treatise has brought to light a much more complete text. That this is the original work of Gregory is evident from both internal and external evidence, but this requires a detailed investigation. I shall begin with a short history of the problem, for this will be the best illustration of the progress now made possible by the discovery of the complete version of this work.

[1] See p. 3 sq.

CHAPTER THREE

THE AUTHENTICITY OF GREGORY OF NYSSA'S TRACT *DE INSTITUTO CHRISTIANO*, AND THE SO-CALLED GREAT LETTER OF 'MACARIUS'

In the year 1910 the Rev. Fr. J. Stiglmayr, S.J., an expert in the field of Greek ascetic literature and at that time one of the few competent students of the writings which are preserved to us under the name of 'Macarius of Egypt', published a small but incisive observation which was to stir up an interesting discussion [1]. He had noticed that the second of the letters of the so-called 'Macarius' printed in Migne's edition (*P.G.* XXXIV, 409-441) agrees in its second part (420 C-441 A) almost literally with large portions of the treatise *De instituto Christiano* [2] of Gregory of Nyssa (περὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν σκοποῦ).

Macarius was a follower of St. Antony and one of the

[1] J. Stiglmayr, S.J., 'Makarios d. Gr. und Gregor von Nyssa', *Theologie und Glaube* II (1910) 571. Cf. the same author's *Sachliches und Sprachliches bei Makarius von Aegypten*, Innsbruck 1912, Vorbemerkungen p. iii n. 4. I am greatly indebted to the librarian of the Jesuit college Stella Matutina in Vorarlberg, Austria, for lending me his library's copy of the latter work, which is now quite scarce. I use this opportunity to express my special gratitude for this kindness and for the liberality with which my request was granted.

[2] The second part of the letter of 'Macarius' (Migne *P.G.* XXXIV, 420C-fin.) corresponds to the second part of the treatise *De instituto Christiano* of Gregory of Nyssa, beginning Migne *P.G.* XLVI, 297A (δεῖ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότας ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι), in my edition p. 64, 4.

most famous among the early Egyptian hermits who during the fourth century abandoned the world and went into the wilderness of the Egyptian desert to live a new life devoted to religious worship. Naturally there was little place for literary activity in this primitive kind of existence, which was so different from the sheltered life of the learned monks of later centuries who belonged to large monastic communities with a strictly observed division of labor. It is not astonishing, therefore, that Gennadius of Marseille (*de vir. ill.* 10) knows of no works of Macarius the Egyptian other than one letter addressed to his dear children, the monks, which they showed Gennadius during his short stay with them in the desert. But the Syrian Isaac of Nineveh, who lived towards the end of the seventh century, referred to the 'testimonia' of Macarius of Egypt [1], and our Greek, Syriac, and Arabic manuscripts have preserved a large number of works under his name, among them several letters. The origin of this literature, all of which bears the stamp of ascetic mysticism, is itself a mystery, but suspicion about the authorship of Macarius is as old as critical scholarship [2]. The question has been taken up again during the last forty years, and although no agreement about the true historical background of the writings of the corpus Macarianum has been reached as yet, it seems generally to be conceded by scholars nowadays that they cannot have been written by the man to whom our manuscript tradition ascribes them [3].

[1] See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* I, 448; C. Fleming, *De Macarii Aegyptii Scriptis Quaestiones* (diss. Göttingen 1911) p. 26.

[2] The critical judgments of Casimir Oudin and Johann Semler are reprinted in Migne *P.G.* XXXIV, 377-384 and 263-284.

[3] The articles in our theological encyclopedias and handbooks are for the most part very incomplete with regard to this subject, because they predate the more important re-

When Stiglmayr published his discovery of the extensive congruencies between the text of the so-called 'great letter' of 'Macarius' and the *De instituto Christiano* of Gregory of Nyssa, these researches on Macarius were still in their infancy. Though Stiglmayr took an active part in them later on, he at first contented himself with stating the fact and giving a short explanation. According to him, 'Macarius' had copied Gregory of Nyssa and therefore could not be the Egyptian hermit of the fourth century, the older contemporary of Gregory, but was a later author [1]. But there are certain passages in the text which is common to both authors where sentences extant in 'Macarius' ' letter have no parallel in Gregory's treatise. These additional sentences Stiglmayr explained as interpolations made by 'Macarius'.

Ten years later (1920) a Belgian Benedictine, Dom L. Villecourt, returned to the problem in an article in which he criticized Stiglmayr's results. He arrived at a different interpretation of the facts. He also presented new Syriac documents which he had found in some manuscripts of the British Museum and which are of importance for the chronology and textual history of the 'great letter' of 'Macarius' [2].

searches of recent decades. But now see the literature quoted in Berthold Altaner, *Patrologie*[2] (Freiburg i.B. 1950) p. 226, and the brief history of the question in Hermann Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien, Die Überlieferung der Messalianischen 'Makarios'-Schriften* (*Texte und Untersuchungen z. Gesch. d. altchristl. Literatur* 4. Reihe 10. Bd. 1. Heft (Leipzig 1941) p. 2-4).

[1] Besides this argument Stiglmayr had many other independent reasons for assuming that the author of the so-called 'Macarius' writings was later than the fourth century; see especially his monograph referred to p. 37 n. 1, *Sachliches und Sprachliches bei Makarius von Aegypten*. We shall return to these reasons later.

[2]) Louis Villecourt, *O.S.B.*, 'La grande lettre grecque de Macaire, ses formes textuelles et son milieu littéraire' (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* vol. 22, 1920, p. 29-56). The later publications

Villecourt undertook a comparative analysis of the whole text of the letter and of the *De instituto Christiano* (which he briefly called 'the treatise'). He rightly distinguished two parts in the letter. (1) The first part (409 C-420 B) is concerned with the ἀπάθεια of the true Christian. The πάθη are not a part of man's natural state. God did not create man with πάθη, but He gave him a free will. The πάθη are the effect of evil spirits in the human soul. According to the author, God desires man's participation in His own ἀπάθεια, but He cannot dwell in man's soul along with the evil spirits. The letter adds precepts as to how a man can sanctify himself and become the abode of God. (2) The second part (420 C-fin.) is wholly different in character. It deals with life in monastic communities and discusses the mutual relationship of superiors and brethren, along with the organization and discipline of the monastery.

The 'treatise' of Gregory of Nyssa is also divided into two parts. The first is devoted to the question of the goal (σκοπός) of the religious life, which the author calls 'the philosophic life'. The second part it has in common with the letter [1]. It seems the most natural method of

of Dom Villecourt on the problem of the origin of the corpus Macarianum will be quoted where they affect the present inquiry. The problem of the relationship of Gregory's treatise to the Macarius writings is older than has been hitherto realized. In codex Vaticanus gr. 1433 (saec. XIII) I discovered a marginal note to the title of the treatise *De instituto Christiano* (see my *app. crit. ad loc.*) that points out the parallel with the 'first letter of Macarius'. But the 'first letter' is not the one in question; it is identical with the other 'great letter' going under the name of Macarius that has since been rediscovered by H. Dörries and that will be discussed in detail in the second part of the present book. There the marginal note of the Vatican manuscript will be examined.

[1] Since Villecourt knew the treatise *De instituto Christiano* only in the skeleton form of the excerpt printed in Migne *P.G.* XLVI, 288-305, I must quote it here from Migne's text: the

procedure to ask: did this common part originally belong to the first part with which it is connected in the 'treatise', or does it rather continue the first part of the letter? The answer will appear only after an accurate examination of the textual differences between the treatise and the letter in this part which they have in common [1].

The second part of the letter reproduces the entire second part of the treatise. But in addition to this the letter contains elements which the treatise does not include, whole sentences and paragraphs as well as single phrases. There are two possible explanations. Either the treatise has been cut down to its present form from the text which we have in the letter, or the letter is an interpolated version of the treatise [2]. The latter was the opinion held by Stiglmayr. The former explanation is that of Villecourt. According to him, the treatise represents an abridgment of the letter, whereas Stiglmayr had assumed that the second part of the letter incorporated the complete text of the second part of the treatise, with reflections of Macarius added to it.

By careful comparison Villecourt arrived at the conclusion that the text of the second part of the letter is the original and that the second half of the treatise is the abridged copy. He proved definitely that the alterations which the text of the letter has suffered in the treatise are real mutilations of the original. How-

first part covers col. 289A-297A (ὁ μὲν οὖν σκοπὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας τοιοῦτος); the second part extends from 297A (δεῖ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότας ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι) to the end of the treatise 305C. In the new complete version of the treatise the second part begins p. 64, 4 (Jaeger).

[1] This procedure is precisely that followed by Villecourt in his article (see p. 39 n. 2).

[2] See Villecourt *loc. cit.* p. 35.

ever, he had to admit, to his amazement, that the first part of the letter does not fit the second at all, as one would expect if the second part of the letter represents the original. On the other hand, Villecourt showed irrefutably that the two parts of the treatise fit together perfectly, and this again seems strange if the treatise is the copy of the letter. Villecourt therefore concluded with rigid logic that the first part of the letter in its present form does not represent the original text. But the treatise, though only an abridged copy of the letter, represents the content of the original in its first part as well, and has even preserved the original words which form the transition from the first to the second part. Gregory's treatise, therefore, is the only (though abridged) form of the Greek text in which the first part of the original letter is preserved to us. For the second part we have the complete original in the second part of the 'great letter' of 'Macarius'.

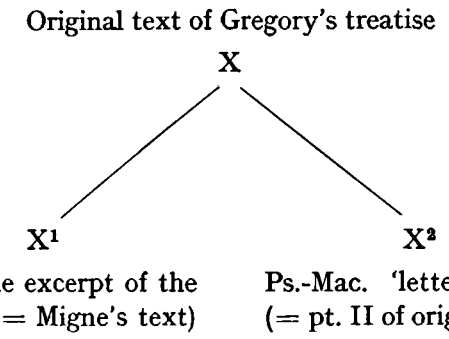
If, as Villecourt analyzed it, Gregory's treatise is a mere excerpt of a letter of Macarius of which only the second part is preserved in its authentic form, important conclusions would seem to follow. Villecourt was convinced with Stiglmayr, Oudin and Semler that the writings of the so-called Macarius cannot have originated from the Egyptian hermit of that name but must belong to a later period. If they were composed by the famous monk of the Egyptian desert, who was slightly earlier and in part the contemporary of Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory could have used his letter, though it would be hard to believe that a man of his stature should have slavishly copied a document written by another author. But if the Macarius corpus as a whole is the product of a time later than Gregory, a treatise attributed to Gregory in which a letter of that Pseudo-Macarius is excerpted cannot be a work of Gregory of Nyssa. Villecourt

discovered a retractation or paraphrase of the Macarius' letter in a Syriac treatise which he found in a codex in the British Museum dated by subscription A.D. 534. Thus 'Macarius' must have lived earlier than that, presumably in the fifth century [1]. The treatise must then be later than Gregory, but cannot be dated exactly.

This proof of the non-authenticity of the treatise was built exclusively on its external relation to the so-called 'Macarius'. No question based on the theological content or on the form and language of the book was ever raised, and therein lies the essential weakness of the verdict, incontrovertible though its logic might appear. As a matter of principle one should never argue questions of authenticity in mere terms of external relationship where this argument is not corroborated by inner evidence, *i.e.* the specific quality of thought and style. Villecourt was entirely correct in pointing out that Gregory's treatise was a mere excerpt, as was evident from the second part of the letter, which showed what the original had been like. But instead of reconstructing from this evidence a completely hypothetical lost original for the first part of the miserable letter of 'Macarius', one should have realized that an unknown third factor is involved in the case, and this is a lost work which is the *common source* of both the treatise and the letter. Of it the treatise is an excerpt, wheras the 'Macarius' letter represents a literal copy of the second part only. This lost common source has now been rediscovered. It is the hitherto unknown original of Gregory's treatise, much more complete than the excerpt which is all we have possessed until now. And this complete version is indeed literally identical in its second part with the second part of

[1] See Villecourt *loc. cit.* p. 38 sq. The Syriac manuscript is codex Brit. Mus. Add. 12175. On the Syriac paraphrase, cf. this monograph p. 160 sq.

Macarius' letter. The second part of 'Macarius'' letter, it now appears, was compiled from Gregory's *original* work.


Original text of Gregory's treatise
X
X¹
X²
Byzantine excerpt of the treatise (= Migne's text)
Ps.-Mac. 'letter', pt. II (= pt. II of orig. treatise)

The so-called 'great letter' of 'Macarius' is now revealed as a mechanical compilation. That its first part does not fit the second was observed by Villecourt himself. Later Professor H. Dörries pointed out in his book on Macarius that the first part is copied literally from a homily ascribed to Macarius [1]. Now we learn that the beginning of this homily has been contaminated in the apocryphal 'letter' with a literal copy of the second part of Gregory's treatise. This patchwork of a medieval scribe was then put under the name of 'Macarius' and incorporated into the manuscripts of that author. Afterwards, when the complete text of Gregory's treatise had dropped out of sight, the excerpt of it which was printed in its stead inevitably appeared to have been copied from the 'letter' of 'Macarius', even though the first half of the excerpt has no parallel in the letter. The fact that in order to smooth out this difficulty scholars had to postulate a different text of the 'original' letter need no

[1] The first part of the 'great letter' of Ps.-Macarius is borrowed literally from the 40th homily, as Dörries has observed (*loc. cit.* p. 227).

longer cause us trouble. Fortunately we can now throw aside both secondary products, the abridged text of the treatise and the so-called 'letter' of 'Macarius', and go back to the common source—the original treatise of Gregory of Nyssa. *Tardi ingeni est rivulos consectari, fontes rerum non videre.*

Thus the 'letter' has ceased to exist as a document of the author concealed under the pseudonym 'Macarius of Egypt', but it does not on that account lose a very practical value; for this compilation now becomes our oldest witness of the complete version of Gregory's treatise, and as such it must be used to control our manuscripts. It permits us to trace the tradition of the book back to the monastic circles which were instrumental in preserving the Macarius writings. That at the same time they were interested in Gregory's treatise we shall see confirmed soon by further evidence. Somehow these works must have been handed down together. It makes no difference whether some obscure monk contaminated them deliberately in order to patch up a new tract on the ascetic life, or whether the two pieces were thrown together mechanically because they followed one another in the manuscript copied by the compiler. Offhand the latter may seem more likely, but the Macarius corpus contains numerous items which have borrowed parts of their content from other treatises of the same author and reproduced them literally.

Gregory's work is now cleared from the only charge which has ever been directed against it, that of being a copy of the 'letter' of 'Macarius'. Our further inquiry will confirm this result by an abundance of internal and external evidence. Indeed, nothing can be more obvious to anyone who is sufficiently familiar with the individual language, thought, terminology, and style of Gregory of Nyssa than the identity of the treatise with the man

who is unanimously called its author in our manuscript tradition. The doubts which have been expressed about the authenticity of the work have not originated from scholars long familiar with Gregory but have been put forth by Macarius scholars wrestling with the problems of their own author [1]. For an understanding of Macarius' individual style, the letter is not a good point of departure. Villecourt himself was puzzled at the difference in style between the so-called 'great letter' of 'Macarius' and his other works, particularly his homilies. This may seem strange in view of the discovery by Professor Dörries that the first part of the letter is taken over from one of the homilies of Macarius, but Villecourt, as the reader will remember, was thinking of the second part as the only one that mattered, and that part indeed is a far cry from the vulgar but colorful Greek of Macarius' homilies. What we have there, as we now know, is the language of Gregory of Nyssa, which follows classical models and avoids the idioms and constructions of the ordinary language of the people (κοινὴ διάλεκτος) and of ordinary life (κοινὸς βίος). The positive

[1] Other than Stiglmayr, only Dom A. Wilmart seems to have had a certain feeling for the highly individual style of Gregory of Nyssa, as can be seen from his article 'La tradition de l'hypotypose ou traité sur l'ascèse attribué à Grégoire de Nysse' (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* vol. 21, p. 412 sq.). In this article, it is true, his mind was already prejudiced by the still unpublished results of his confrère Dom L. Villecourt, of which he knew in advance (*loc. cit.* p. 412 n. 4). Though he saw no escape from Villecourt's arguments against the authenticity of Gregory's treatise, mainly because of the incoherence of its logic and style (no wonder, in an excerpt!), he honestly admitted at the end of his article (p. 417) that his impression of the work was somewhat contradictory and that in some parts, for example the proem, of the suspected treatise he found the unmistakable stamp of Gregory's language. Thus even in the mutilated form in which the proem was preserved in the excerpt Gregory's characteristic style could not be totally obscured.

proof of the Gregorian character of the language of the treatise can be given only by a commentary which goes into detail and uses the other works of Gregory as material for a thorough comparison [1].

[1] See the analysis of the theological doctrine and terminology of the treatise and its relation to Gregory's other works on the ascetic ideal in the respective chapters of this book.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TWO VERSIONS OF THE *DE INSTITUTO CHRISTIANO*: EPITOME AND ORIGINAL

We now proceed to compare the new text with the vulgate printed in the extant editions. I presuppose the text of Migne [1] in the hands of the reader, so that he will be able to follow our analysis by comparing the short version in Migne with the complete text printed for the first time in my edition [2]. In the *apparatus criticus* of the latter all omissions in the text of the excerpt are indicated.

In the following examination of the text I shall refrain from analyzing the thought of the treatise, since such an analysis is reserved for a special chapter. I am here concerned with the content only so far as the logical context of the work is affected by the activity of the excerptor.

Gregory begins with the fundamental distinction between the perfection of the human soul as it came from the hands of the creator and its present corruption, the effect of its delusion by the fluctuating world of the senses. If we free ourselves for a moment from the servitude of irrational passions and contemplate the true nature of the soul in itself, separate from the body, we see in it 'the will of God', the creator [3]. Gregory makes

[1] Migne *P.G.* XLVI, 288A-305C.

[2] *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Ascetica* (*Gregorii Nysseni Opera* vol. VIII, 1, Brill, Leiden 1952) p. 40 sq.

[3] *De instituto Christiano* p. 40, 1-6. Jaeger.

this concept his point of departure, just as a Platonist in the traditional sense would start from the 'idea of the good' in order to define the goal (σκοπός) of the best life. Here, as in his other works, Gregory teaches that there is in the soul of man an inborn *erōs* of the good, but this divine *erōs*, which is part of man's original and true nature, is obscured by the rule of passion over reason; and if it is the goal of man's life to fulfill his true nature (as Plato would put it), he can attain the goal only by setting free this divine *erōs* within him [1]. This is the road to the 'philosophic life'. As a remedy against the depravation of the soul by the passions, God has given the knowledge of the truth (γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας) to those who earnestly desire it [2]. It destroys the illusion that deceives man and directs the soul towards its own salvation.

There follow 39 lines of the original that are omitted in the short version and in Migne (from p. 41, 10 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ταύτην ὑμεῖς to p. 43, 7 φρονήματι ματαίῳ πεφυσημένοι). The omitted section begins with the words ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, and after the lacuna the short version goes on δεῖ τοίνυν...; but an explanation of the omission of these lines as mere mechanical loss is excluded by the fact that such omissions continue throughout the short version of the treatise. They are clearly the work of an excerptor. Let us see then what he thought superfluous by paraphrasing the omitted page [3]:

[1] It will be remembered that the concept of a goal, end or aim of human life (σκοπός, τέλος) was introduced by Plato and that this approach is characteristic of Platonic thought. This problem was bound to arise again in any discussion of the ascetic life and its aim that tried to raise the problem to a philosophical level. This is Gregory's intent in the book under discussion. The concept of σκοπός or τέλος and that of *erōs* are correlated in Platonic thought. They both imply the supraempirical concept of φύσις that distinguishes Plato from average thought.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 41, 3 sq.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 41, 10 sq.

'Since then you possess this knowledge (γνῶσιν, referring to the preceding words γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας) and have given to your *erōs* the direction that accords with the true nature of the soul, you have come together with eagerness in order by your actions to imitate the apostolic model in your community. Now you desire to receive from me a guide for your life's journey that will show you what is the goal of this way of life and the will of God, and what is the path that leads toward this goal. You also want to know how those who follow this path should live their common life, how the superiors should direct the philosophical chorus, and what exercises (πόνοι) those who want to climb the peak of highest virtue should undertake in order to prepare their souls to become worthy receptacles of the Holy Ghost. Since then you ask for this sort of instruction, not only by word of mouth but in written form, so that you can keep it for good and take it from the storehouse of memory, so to speak, to use for every situation that arises, I shall try to respond to your eagerness and speak as the grace of the Spirit leads me, knowing full well that the canon of your piety is firmly established on the ground of the true dogma of our faith—a deity one in substance but in three hypostases—and realizing your efforts to ascend towards the Divine by a strenuous journey. So I write you these seeds of instruction, selecting them from the fruits the Spirit has given me, but often using as well the words of the Scriptures as proof of what I say and to clarify my interpretation of their meaning, lest I seem to abandon the divine gifts sent from above and to substitute for them the poor products of my own mind, or to shape an ideal of piety in accordance with the doctrines of exoteric philosophy and, inflated by vain pride, to interpolate them in my ignorance into the Scriptures.'

These 39 lines that the text hitherto known to us has omitted contain what the ancients would call the *propositio* of the entire work: they give the concrete situation from which it originated, and its theme, disposition, and purpose. They reveal for the first time that Gregory wrote the book to serve as a 'guide' (ὁδηγὸς καὶ ἡγεμών) for a group of monks who had come together (συνεληλύθατε) for an attempt to lead a perfect life after the apostolic model and who had requested his guidance for their ascetic pilgrimage. That they were a large group is clear from the plural and from the phrase ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας χορός (p. 41, 20), which Gregory uses in distinguishing the superiors (προεστῶτες) from the rest of the brethren. It also seems likely that this group comprised more than one μονή, since Gregory speaks of their 'superiors' in the plural [1]. It looks as though several monasteries had approached him together and that they belonged to one and the same organized group, since they were willing to accept the same rules from his authority.

The disposition of the book and its content could not be set forth more clearly and forcefully than the author has done in these lines. First Gregory proposes to show what is the goal of this way of life (ὁ τοῦ βίου τούτου σποπός). This is the more philosophical or theoretical part of the work. It extends from p. 40, 1 to p. 66, 13. At the beginning of the second part (p. 66, 14) Gregory looks back and recapitulates the content of the preceding part of the book: τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ σκοποῦ τοῖς φιλοσόφως ζῆν ἠρημένοις ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω. Then he continues: δεῖ δὲ λοιπὸν προσθεῖναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅπως μὲν χρὴ συνεῖναι τοὺς τοιούτους ἀλλήλοις, ὁποίους δὲ ἀγαπᾶν πόνους, ὅπως δὲ τρέχειν μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκωνται. This is the dividing line between

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 41, 20; cf. p. 69, 7 *sim.*

the two parts of the work. The second part is to deal with the practical problems of the monastic life, the discipline and daily work of the monks, their labors (πόνοι), and the pilgrims' progress toward their own perfection. I shall return to this important passage later in order to draw from it the obvious conclusions for the date of composition of the treatise and its relationship to Gregory's other works on the same subject [1].

All the details of this *propositio* were cut out by the excerptor because he was interested neither in the historical situation nor in the literary form of the work. The composition has suffered much by this excision, and the position of the book among Gregory's ascetic writings and his personal relationship to the monks whom he addresses has been completely obscured. The language of the omitted section is characteristic of Gregory even in its details. Such details are the comparison of the ascetic life to a journey (πορεία) or ascent (ἀνάβασις) (these words later became technical terms, but Gregory uses them to designate the climbing of the rough peak of *areté*, a metaphor taken over from the ancient Greek poets, such as Hesiod, Simonides, and Tyrtaeus); the comparison of the monastic community to a 'chorus of philosophers' pursuing the ideal of the 'philosophic life', a piece of symbolism very frequent in Gregory's ascetic writings but not found in Basil [2]; the brief definition of the proper dogma of faith: one substance in three hypostases—the classical trinitarian formula of the Cappadocian school. A special characteristic of Gregory's diction is the introduction of a new principle of prose

[1] See the chapter on the date of composition of the treatise (p. 116-126), especially p. 118.

[2] The term φιλόσοφος βίος is used in the *Sermo Asceticus* falsely attributed to Basil (Migne *P.G.* XXXI, 881B) but is not found in the genuine works of Basil. Cf. W. K. L. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil*, London 1925, p. 141.

rhythm, not quantitative as it used to be in the classical period of Greek rhetoric, that makes the rhythm of the clausula coincide with the word accent in a very restricted number of rhythmical patterns. This rhythmical 'law' was rediscovered by Wilhelm Meyer of Speyer, who observed that Gregory was one of the first authors to follow this norm. The additional text of the complete version follows the same rhythmic rules as the rest of the treatise and the other works of Gregory [1].

In the excerpt, the last words preceding the omitted section are (p. 41, 2 sq.): 'Therefore the grace of Our Saviour has given to those who accept it with true desire the knowledge of truth (τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας), that wholesome medicine of souls. Through it the error that beguiles man is broken, the pride of the flesh is extinguished, and the light of truth leads the soul that has accepted the oneness (ἕνωσιν) to the Divine and towards its own salvation'. Instead of ἕνωσιν, which makes no sense, the manuscripts of the complete version offer the correct reading γνῶσιν: 'the soul that has accepted the knowledge'. The omitted section that follows immediately takes up the idea: 'Since then you are taking this knowledge (ταύτην ... τὴν γνῶσιν) ...', etc. This

[1] See Wilhelm Meyer, *Der accentuirte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa vom IV. bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1891 (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellat. Rhythmik*, Berlin 1905). Stanislas Skimina, in his *État actuel des études sur le rhythme de la prose grecque* (*Eus Supplementa* vol. 11, Lwów 1930), reviews the development of the whole question up to his time; among others, such as Terzaghi, Przychocki, etc., the important contributions of Paul Maas to the problem of prose rhythm in late ancient and Byzantine writers. Maas' views on the rhythm of the clausulae in the prose of Gregory of Nyssa were set forth in *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift* 1906 p. 776 and in *Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Kirchenvätern und Sophisten* I. *Drei neue Stücke aus der Korrespondenz d. Gr. v. N.* (*Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.* 1912 p. 988-999). See also P. Maas, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 22 (1913) p. 207.

transition connects the omitted part closely with the preceding words and shows that Gregory not only wanted to make the general statement 'Christ has given the knowledge of truth to those who long to accept this gift', but that he applied this idea to the group of ascetics to whom he was speaking by saying that they have accepted and are still accepting this gift of true *gnosis*, as is proved by their asking for his spiritual guidance, which he will therefore give them.

The damage that has been inflicted upon the original text by the excerptor proves definitely that the shorter text cannot be another version prepared by Gregory himself but is merely a poor excerpt made without the slightest feeling for the quality of the literary form it mutilates. Even Villecourt saw this when he compared Migne's text of the treatise with the second half of the letter of 'Macarius'. He rightly recognized that what is printed in Migne is a mere excerpt from the other text; but what he could not know was that the complete text, part of which he had found in Macarius' letter, was itself compiled literally from Gregory's original treatise. Thus the short version is an excerpt not of Macarius but of Gregory's original work. Not all of the omissions are as long as the one we have discussed, but they occur with great regularity on almost every page of the text. After the long lacuna ending on p. 43, 7, the excerptor has preserved ten lines without alteration. These ten lines are the beginning of the *tractatio*, which could not be omitted after the omission of the *propositio*. Paraphrased briefly, they read: 'He who desires to lead his soul and body to God in accordance with the law of [Christian] religion and to devote to Him a worship pure and undefiled by blood sacrifice, must make the faith taught by the saints in the Scriptures the guide of his life, and in perfect obedience to it he must commit

his soul to the pursuit of virtue (τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς δρόμοις). He must free himself completely from the shackles of earthly life and put off once and for all the servitude of all that is low and vain. By his faith and his life he must become altogether God's property, knowing well that he who has faith and purity of life has also the power of Christ, and that where the power of Christ is, there also is escape from all evil [and from the "death that ravages our life".']

The excerptor has cut out everything that follows the word 'evil', from p. 43, 20 to p. 44, 14 (κομίσῃ πλοῦτον), including the scriptural quotations, 17 lines in all. In these lines Gregory gives the reason why the power of evil cannot get hold of a soul that possesses 'faith and purity of life': where they prevail, there is the power of Christ, and where the power of Christ is, there evil loses its power, because it cannot resist the power of the Lord (τῇ δεσποτικῇ δυνάμει); for evil is the product of disobedience to the law. This was the cause of Adam's fall, the πρῶτος πλασθείς, and now all men imitate his disobedience of their own free will. But those who turn to the Spirit in sincerity and who have faith in all assurance (ἐν πάσῃ πληροφορίᾳ) are purified by the Spirit. To prove this Gregory refers to the words of St. Paul (I Thess. 1, 5): 'For our gospel came not unto you in word only but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance'. He also quotes another passage from the same epistle (I Thess. 5, 23): 'And your whole spirit and soul be preserved blameless unto the coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ' (instead of ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Gregory's Bible, which often differs from the text of our Bible manuscripts [1], read ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου

[1] The reconstruction of the text of the Bible used by Gregory of Nyssa is one of the major tasks connected with the critical

ἡμῶν κτλ.). For Christ has given a pledge (ἐνέχυρον) through baptism to those worthy of immortality that the talent entrusted to each will bring him invisible wealth if he invests the capital given to him.

After this sentence the excerptor resumes the text and has preserved the next 10 lines of the original, from p. 44, 14 (μέγα γάρ, ἀδελφοί) to p. 44, 23 (ἔργοις σπουδήν). But since the words about the pledge of baptism that Christ has given to his faithful were omitted in the preceding lacuna the following words μέγα γάρ ... τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα had to be changed by the excerptor to μέγα δή ... τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα. Even so, this exclamation comes to the reader of the excerpt as a surprise, for the organic body of the argument has been dismembered and the head lost. The logic of the δή is no better than the γάρ would be if the excerptor had preserved it without preserving that which is to be demonstrated by it.

After preserving these 10 lines of the original, the excerptor then omits slightly more than 20 lines (p. 44, 24 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου φωνήν to p. 45, 17 ἀρετῆς καταστήσαι). Obviously the excerptor wanted to keep only Gregory's main thought, the symbolism of the bath of baptism, interpreted as the Spirit and the ever-flowing stream of its grace, and the example of the apostles, who, filled (πληρωθέντες) with it, showed to the churches of Christ the fruits of this fullness (πλήρωμα). The Spirit stays with those who accept the gift in purity and assists them according to the measure of the faith of each participant, building the good in each individual in proportion to the efforts of the soul in the works of faith. But the excerptor omits the elaborate description

edition of his works, but can be undertaken only after their authentic text has been established. There are important differences between his and our Scriptural text, even in such official sections as the Our Father.

of this process of grace that we read in the original.

The original text refers first of all to Christ's parable of the servant who receives a talent from the master of the house to invest at interest. This parable is interpreted as the grace of the Holy Ghost, given to everyone for his advancement and enrichment. Gregory interprets this biblical metaphor, which is taken from business life, as the process of the spiritual and moral growth of the individual. He translates the realistic terms of money-making into the language of the educator who wants to know precisely what is the function of grace within the development of the Christian personality. The reborn soul develops in the same way as the body of a new-born child. Gregory even speaks of the various ages of man's spirit. Just as in man's physical evolution there is a gradual advance according to the laws of nature towards the goal of the measure (μέτρον) given to every individual, so the soul cannot remain in its spiritual infancy after it is reborn by the grace of the Spirit dwelling in it, but, nourished by proper food, it must advance towards the stature that nature requires. It must advance by every kind of virtue and by constant effort in order, by the power of the Spirit through its inherent virtue (τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος δι' οἰκείας ἀρετῆς), to become impregnable as a fortress to the assaults of the invisible enemy. It is obvious that Gregory in this formula is trying to bring together the two basic elements of his mind in a new ideal of Christian paideia: the Christian concept of grace and the Hellenic heritage of man's own moral effort to attain the *areté* proper to his nature (Plato's οἰκεία ἀρετή).

At this point the excerptor preserves 4 lines of the original (p. 45, 18 to p. 45, 21 πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ), but omits the 9 following lines (p. 45, 22 ἵνα μηκέτι to p. 46, 7 συγγενομένη πόνοις). Of the two biblical tes-

timonia that Gregory quotes, only the first (Eph. 4, 13-15) is preserved; the other (Rom. 12, 2) is omitted, though it forms the transition to the following argument and is important for Gregory's purpose, because he here interprets the words of St. Paul, μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀναkαινώσει τοῦ νοός, in the sense of a process of gradual 'formation of the soul' (μορφωθῆναι τὴν ψυχήν), a concept familiar in the Greek paideia tradition [1]. It is true that the formative power in this process of Christian education is religion (εὐσέβεια), or more specifically the grace of the Spirit (ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις), but it is called an 'assistant' (συγγενομένη) to the efforts (πόνοις) of him who is being formed or shaped, a concept reminiscent of the characterization of the Spirit as συνεργός (cf. p. 92 sq). The omission of these sentences is a serious loss to the text, because it disposes of some of the most characteristic conceptions of the author's theology. I shall discuss this problem in a later chapter [2].

The following 7 lines (p. 46, 7 ἡ μὲν οὖν to p. 46, 14 συνεκτείνεται μέγεθος) are preserved by the excerptor, but they are a striking proof of his primitive method of abridgment. The passage may be paraphrased thus: 'The growth of the body does not depend upon us (οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν), since nature does not measure itself by man's will and pleasure (γνώμῃ καὶ ἡδονῇ) but by its own inherent tendency and necessity (ὁρμῇ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ). But the measure (μέτρον) and beauty (κάλλος) of the soul that the grace of the Spirit supplies through the effort of the man who is its recipient does depend upon

[1] See my *Paideia, The Ideals of Greek Culture*, the German subtitle of which is *Die Formung des griechischen Menschen* (3 vols., 2d ed., Oxford and New York 1945). See also my article on the problem of a Christian paideia in Gregory of Nyssa in *Festschrift für Karl Reinhardt* (Berlin 1952) p. 161 ('Von Affen und wahren Christen').

[2] See the chapter '*The Theology of the Treatise*', p. 92 sq.

our own will (γνώμη); for to whatever degree one carries his struggle (ἀγῶνας) for sanctity, to that same degree does the greatness (μέγεθος) of his soul extend'. In the original text this comparison of physical and spiritual growth resumes the preceding comparison of both (p. 45, 4 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φύσις κτλ.): in the first part Gregory had stated the similarity that exists between the growth of body and soul (they both develop gradually); in the second part (p. 46, 7-15) he points out their dissimilarity (the growth of the body depends on the necessity of nature, that of the soul on our own free will). The excerptor omits the first part of the comparison but retains the second, thus breaking up Gregory's whole argument.

He also omits the following biblical quotations (p. 46, 15 διά τε ἀγώνων to p. 46, 26 μετρεῖται τῆς χάριτος), but having done so must then alter the beginning of the next sentence (p. 46, 26) from τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀΐδιον ζωήν to καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀΐδιον ζωήν, thereby blurring the logical connection of the sentences.

It would be tedious and is moreover unnecessary to compare the two versions line by line throughout the treatise. From our comparison of the first few pages, however, it is evident that the longer version represents the original text and the other the excerpt. This is also clear from the fact that the oldest and best manuscripts contain only the complete version of the text, whereas the excerpt occurs only in a few manuscripts copied from a late source [1].

Not all the omissions in the excerpt were the result of the simple process of excision that we have illustrated

[1] See the account of the old and complete manuscripts of the treatise in the preface to my edition (p. 3-36), and on the excerpt in codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35 see p. 36 (cf. also this book p. 4 n. 1).

on the preceding pages. Frequently the excerptor, after omitting many lines of the text, had to insert some words of his own in order to smooth the transition or fill a hiatus in the thought caused by his cutting. Thus, after omitting more than 20 lines from p. 44, 24 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου to p. 45, 17 οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καταστήσαι, the excerptor inserts after χρὴ οὖν (p. 45, 18) the words ἕκαστον ἡμῶν δι' ἀρετῆς προκόπτοντα. Again, he omits the words p. 47, 13 ἠγρύπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων to p. 47, 19 συμμαχίαν καὶ ἅμα τὸ, but must substitute as subject of the closing sentence the words οἱ περὶ ταῦτα πονοῦντες and add the words κἀντεῦθεν διδασκόμεθα, in order to give the next sentence a logical connection with the preceding one and supply it with a ruling verb. At p. 48, 7 the excerptor omits the words from καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις to p. 48, 15 τὸ πνεῦμα διδάσκει; but in place of them he has to insert the following: ὁρᾷς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς καθαρότητος; τί κρεῖττον τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὸν θεόν, καθὼς ἡμῖν ἐγχωρεῖ; διὸ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ αἰτεῖ τοῦτο λέγων ... This patchwork is not very polished—the καθώς instead of καθόσον, and the somewhat loud metaphor of the βραβεῖον in connection with purity—yet it is apparent that the excerptor wanted his product to be readable as a whole and to run as smoothly as possible. At p. 48, 18 he omits the words καὶ ἄτιμον to p. 48, 19 περιθεμένους, thereby eliminating the subject of the *acc. c. inf.*; the alteration καὶ ἀποθέσθαι (instead of ἀποδύεσθαι) κελεύει ὡς ἐσθῆτα, with the clumsy and superfluous repetition of κελεύει from the preceding line and the unusual ὡς instead of the καθάπερ of the original, which happily avoids the hiatus, shows that the excerptor did not have much feeling for the quality of the work he was handling.

There are many other instances of omission and compensatory substitution of a shorter phrase. The excerptor omits the words (p. 53, 13) καὶ ὁρώμενα σαφῶς ...

ἀπαριθμούμενος, for which he substitutes ἄκουσον τοῦ ἀποστόλου. He omits (p. 54, 15-17) δι' εὐχῆς . . . φωνῇ χρώμενον and inserts προσλάβῃς· διὸ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ φησιν. Sometimes he changes a word even where he is not shortening the original, merely because he thinks that it might be misunderstood or not be sufficiently clear: thus (p. 61, 11), after a quotation from the Scriptures, he alters the words καὶ πάλιν, a frequent preliminary to a quotation, to πάλιν φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος. This alteration is quite unwarranted, since the preceding quotation was from the same apostle, as Gregory expressly states. Similarly, p. 62, 1 sq., the construction of the sentence (ἀλλὰ) καὶ τὸ Ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην . . . τοῦτο δηλοῖ, καὶ τὸ Ἑορτάζωμεν κτλ. did not satisfy the excerptor, as is clear from his alteration. The τοῦτο δηλοῖ refers back to the preceding lines, where the words of St. Paul about the 'new creation' are quoted. The excerptor thinks the reader may have forgotten this already and therefore writes (instead of τοῦτο δηλοῖ) τοῖς περὶ τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως εἰρημένοις συμφωνεῖ. He seems not to have liked the next sentence either, and thought it much too long. He therefore struck out the ἐπειδὴ at the beginning (62, 4) and made an independent sentence out of the causal close: πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ (instead of ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλούς). Then he omitted the words (p. 62, 5-6) πανταχόθεν . . . προβάλλων, which seemed to him superfluous, and added διὸ καὶ at the start of the apodosis (p. 62, 7) after νίκης, because it then marked the beginning of a new sentence. On the next page (63, 9) he again adds ὁ ἀπόστολος after the words ὁρᾷς ὅσους ὑπέδειξέ σοι τρόπους τῆς σωτηρίας, but his reason for doing so is that he had omitted the preceding lines (p. 62, 19-63, 9) in which the apostle had been mentioned. The excerptor also substitutes πόσους for ὅσους (63, 9), thinking it grammatically more correct, and changes

τρόπους τῆς σωτηρίας to τῆς σωτηρίας τρόπους, thereby destroying the normal rhythmical cadence of the clause (ˊ ◡ ◡ ˊ ◡).

As he goes on with his work the excerptor obviously becomes more arbitrary and sure of himself. On p. 66, his dislike for Gregory's rhetorical style prompts him to throw out the words at the end of the paragraph (from 6/7 κάτω που ῥίψαντα to 13 ἀγάπη) as unnecessary ballast. Neither does he approve of the end of the preceding sentence (οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ συνειδότι τὸ νομίζειν ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν πεποιηκέναι θεῷ), for he transposes these words after the following sentence (p. 66, 4 τοῦτό ἐστι κατόρθωμα, omitting the γάρ, to p. 66, 6 τοῦ βίου), but in doing so has to change οὐκ ἔχων to μὴ ἔχειν. Even so it is impossible to construe the sentence he thus arrives at. On the next page (67, 9-11) he omits the words εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν ἔχοι . . . χρείας θεραπευτής. In order to retain the end of the sentence, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἐπιτασσόμενον μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος προθύμως ἐπιτελῶν καθάπερ εὔνους καὶ ἁπλοῦς δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . ἠγορασμένος, he has to make another improvisation: he inserts the words οὕτω γὰρ ἑτοιμότερον ἔσται, omits the καὶ, changes the participle ἐπιτελῶν to the infinitive, and, after omitting the epithets εὔνους καὶ ἁπλοῦς, alters δοῦλος to δοῦλον and ἠγορασμένος to ἠγορασμένον, also changing the word-order and spoiling the rhythm of the clausula.

It would be an ideal arrangement to confront the excerpt as a whole with the complete text of the work by printing the two in parallel columns, for this would enable the reader to judge for himself and would illustrate the true character of the epitome without a line-by-line commentary. But since this would be too expensive a printing operation, I think it sufficient to supplement what we have already shown by giving

a specimen of such a synopsis. For this purpose I have chosen at random p. 62, 19 ff.

Original Text	*Excerpt (Migne's Text)*
πῶς οὖν ἡμῖν ληπτέον τὰ ὅπλα, παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθε τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος· Διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει καὶ δεήσει· ὅθεν καὶ ὑπερεύχεται πάντων οὕτως· Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. καὶ πάλιν· Ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως τηρηθείη ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ὁρᾷς ὅσους ὑπέδειξέ σοι τρόπους τῆς σωτηρίας εἰς μίαν τείνοντας ὁδὸν καὶ σκοπὸν ἕνα; τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ πέρας, εἰς ὃ δεῖ φθάσαι διὰ πίστεως ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ ἐλπίδος βεβαίας τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐραστὰς ἐν ἡδονῇ μετὰ ἀγῶνος καὶ προθυμίας βαδίζοντας. τούτοις καὶ πληροῦται ῥᾳδίως ὁ πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ βίου δρόμος, ὧν ἐξήρτηται πᾶς	ὁρᾷς πόσους ὑπέδειξέ σοι τῆς σωτηρίας τρόπους ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰς μίαν τείνοντας ὁδὸν καὶ σκοπὸν ἕνα; ἐν οἷς καὶ πληροῦται ῥᾳδίως ὁ πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ βίου δρόμος.

προφήτης μετὰ τοῦ νόμου· τίνας λέγω τὰς ἐντολάς; Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου· καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν σκοπὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας τοιοῦτος, ὃν αὐτός τε ὁ κύριος καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου τὸ εἰδέναι λαβόντες ἀπόστολοι παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν· εἰ δὲ διὰ μακροτέρων ἀποδεικνύντες εἰς μῆκος προσηγάγομεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ παραστῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συντεμεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φροντίζοντες, μεμφέσθω μηδείς. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότας καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ τῶν τῆς κακίας μολυσμῶν λυτρουμένους ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας σκοπόν, ὅπως μεμαθηκότες τῆς τε πορείας τὸν πόνον καὶ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ πέρας ῥίψωσι μὲν πάντες τὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὸ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν μετὰ τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς γραφῆς ἀρνησάμενοι πρὸς ἕνα βλέπωσι πλοῦτον· ὃν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ἄθλον τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ἔθηκεν ὁ θεός,

Ὁ μὲν οὖν σκοπὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας τοιοῦτος.

δεῖ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότας

ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι αὐτόν,

ὅπως

ῥίψωσι μὲν πάντες τὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὸ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, τήν τε ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν μετὰ τοῦ βίου

ἀρνησάμενοι πρὸς ἕνα βλέπωσι πλοῦτον· ὃν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ἄθλον τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός,

καλῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ λαβεῖν προθύμως ὑφισταμένους· οἷς ἐξαρκεῖ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου βίου πορείαν ἐφόδιον ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὃν δεῖ μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος βαστάζοντας ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ σωτῆρι θεῷ, νόμον καὶ ὁδὸν τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐκείνου ποιουμένους οἰκονομίαν. καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀπόστολος· Μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ· καὶ πάλιν· Δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχομεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν, ὃς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς ὑπέμεινε σταυρὸν αἰσχύνης καταφρονήσας ἐν δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ κεκάθικεν· δέος γὰρ μὴ τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δωρήμασιν ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τὸ κατορθῶσαί τι δι' ἀρετὴν ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες εἰς τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι, πρὶν εἰς τέλος τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἐλθεῖν, ἐκπέσωμεν τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἀχρεῖον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν προλαβόντα πόνον τῇ αὐθαδείᾳ ποιήσαντες καὶ ἀνάξιοι φανέντες τῆς τελειότητος, εἰς ἣν ἡ τοῦ

καθὼς φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος·

Δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν

μὴ οὖν τοῖς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρήμασιν ἐπαιρώμεθα καὶ τῷ κατορθῶσαί τι δι' ἀρετὴν ἀφορμὴν λάβωμεν εἰς τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τέλος τῶν ἐλπιζομένων, ἵνα μὴ ἐκπέσωμεν τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἀχρεῖον ἑαυτοῖς τὸν προλαβόντα πόνον τῇ αὐθαδείᾳ ποιήσαντες καὶ ἀνάξιοι φανέντες τῆς τελειότητος, εἰς ἣν ἡ τοῦ

πνεύματος εἶλκεν ἡμᾶς χάρις.

Δεῖ οὖν μηδαμοῦ τὸν τοῦ πόνου τόνον ἐκλύειν μηδὲ ἐξίστασθαι τῶν προκειμένων ἀγώνων μηδὲ τοῖς κατόπιν εἴ τι πέπρακται σπουδαῖον προσέχειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν λήθην λαμβάνειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐπεκτείνεσθαι καὶ συντρίβειν ταῖς τῶν πόνων φροντίσι τὴν καρδίαν, ἀκόρεστον ἔχοντας τὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐπιθυμίαν, ἧς μόνης χρὴ πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν τοὺς εἰς τὸ τέλειον φθάσαι ζητοῦντας, ταπεινοὺς δὲ καὶ περιδεεῖς γινομένους ὡς πόρρω που τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων τυγχάνοντας καὶ τῆς τελείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ μακρὰν ἀπῳκισμένους ἀγάπης· ὁ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἐρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω βλέπων ἐπαγγελίαν οὔτε νηστεύων οὔτε ἀγρυπνῶν οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς σπουδάζων ἵσταται τοῖς προλαβοῦσι κατορθώμασιν ἐπηρμένος, ἀλλὰ μεστὸς ὢν τοῦ θείου πόθου καὶ πρὸς τὸν καλοῦντα συντόνως βλέπων πᾶν μὲν ὅτι ἂν ἀγωνίσηται πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ἐκείνου μικρὸν ἡγεῖται καὶ τῶν ἄθλων ἀνάξιον· φιλονεικεῖ δὲ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ

πνεύματος ἡμᾶς εἶλκε χάρις.

βίου τούτου τελευτῆς, πόνοις πόνους καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἀρετὰς συνάπτων, μέχρις ἂν τίμιον ἑαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ καταστήσῃ διὰ τῶν ἔργων, οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ συνειδότι τὸ νομίζειν ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν πεποιηκέναι θεῷ. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατόρθωμα μέγιστον φιλοσοφίας τὸ μέγαν ὄντα τοῖς ἔργοις συστελλέσθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ καταγινώσκειν τοῦ βίου, κάτω που ῥίψαντα τῷ πρὸς θεὸν φόβῳ τὴν οἴησιν, ὅπως ἀπολαύσῃ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καθόσον πιστεύσας ἠράσθη ταύτης, οὐ καθόσον πονέσας εἰργάσατο. μεγάλων γὰρ ὄντων τῶν δώρων αὐκ ἔστι πόνους ἀξίους εὑρεῖν· μεγάλης δὲ δεῖ πίστεως καὶ ἐλπίδος εἰς τὸ ταύταις μετρηθῆναι, μὴ τοῖς πόνοις, τὴν ἀμοιβήν. πίστεως δὲ ὑπόστασις πνεύματος πτωχεία καὶ ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ἀμέτρητος ἀγάπη.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ σκοποῦ τοῖς φιλοσόφως ζῆν ᾑρημένοις ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω. δεῖ δὲ λοιπὸν προσθεῖναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅπως μὲν χρὴ συνεῖναι τοὺς τοιούτους ἀλλήλοις, ὁποίους δὲ ἀγαπᾶν πόνους, ὅπως δὲ τρέχειν μετ'

τοῦτό ἐστι κατόρθωμα μέγα φιλοσοφίας τὸ μέγαν ὄντα τοῖς γὰρ(?) <συστέλλε>σθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ καταγινώσκειν τοῦ βίου, μὴ ἔχειν ἐν τῷ συνειδότι ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν πεποιηκέναι θεῷ (cf. p. 62).

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ σκοποῦ τοῖς φιλοσόφως ζῆν αἱρουμένοις ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζομεν. δεῖ δὲ λοιπὸν προσθεῖναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅπως μὲν χρὴ συνεῖναι τοὺς τοιούτους ἀλλήλοις,

ὅπως δὲ τρέχειν μετ'

ἀλλήλων, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκωνται. δεῖ τοίνυν τὸν τὰ τοῦ βίου τούτου σεμνὰ καθαρῶς ἀτιμάζοντα καὶ ἀρνούμενον μὲν τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ἀρνούμενον δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν κάτω δόξαν καὶ ἐρῶντα τῆς οὐρανίας τιμῆς, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν ἀδελφοῖς πνευματικῶς συναπτόμενον, ἀρνήσασθαι μετὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν. ἄρνησις δὲ ψυχῆς τὸ μηδαμοῦ ζητεῖν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θέλημα θεραπεύειν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτοῦ θέλημα ποιεῖν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον καὶ τούτῳ κεχρῆσθαι καθάπερ ἀγαθῷ κυβερνήτῃ τῷ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἀδελφότητος πλήρωμα μεθ' ὁμονοίας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ διευθύνοντι. κεκτῆσθαι δὲ οὐδὲν χρὴ ἢ νομίζειν ἴδιον παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν πλὴν τοῦ τὸ σῶμα καλύπτοντος ἱματίου. εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν ἔχοι τούτων ἀλλὰ γυμνὸς εἴη τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου φροντίδος, τῆς κοινῆς ἔσται χρείας θεραπευτὴς καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἐπιτασσόμενον μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος προθύμως ἐπιτελῶν καθάπερ εὔνους καὶ ἁπλοῦς δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν τῶν

ἀλλήλων, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκωνται. χρὴ τοίνυν τὸν τὰ τοῦ βίου τούτου σεμνὰ καθαρῶς ἀτιμάζοντα καὶ ἀρνούμενον

πᾶσαν τὴν κάτω δόξαν,

ἀρνήσασθαι μετὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ψυχήν. ἄρνησις δὲ ψυχῆς τὸ μηδαμοῦ ζητεῖν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θέλημα ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ

καὶ τούτῳ κεχρῆσθαι καθάπερ ἀγαθῷ κυβερνήτῃ τῷ τὸ κοινὸν πλήρωμα τῆς ἀδελφότητος μεθ' ὁμονοίας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ θείου θελήματος ἀπευθύνοντι. κεκτῆσθαι δὲ οὐδὲν

παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν πλὴν τοῦ τὸ σῶμα καλύπτοντος ἱματίου. οὕτω γὰρ ἑτοιμότερον ἔσται

τὸ παρὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἐπιτασσόμενον μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος προθύμως μὲν τελεῖν

ὡς δοῦλον Χριστοῦ καὶ ἠγορασμένον εἰς

ἀδελφῶν χρείαν ἠγορασμέ-νος.	τὴν κοινὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν χρείαν.

We could go on in this way and compare the two texts throughout the treatise, but that is not necessary for the establishment of the result of such a juxtaposition. The result is that the short version represents only a meager excerpt from Gregory's original work. The original text of the treatise is that preserved without exception in all the older manuscripts.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE THEOLOGY OF THE TREATISE

The idea of the ascetic life has had a long historical development, and the specific form it takes in the Christian theology of Gregory of Nyssa is only one stage of that development. It is of course impossible here to attempt to give a picture of the whole problem in all its aspects; that could be done only by a comprehensive study of its entire history. All we can undertake in this chapter is to attempt to set up certain criteria for the authenticity of Gregory's treatise. We shall not give separate treatment to the criteria involved in the theological doctrine of the work and to those of a more philological nature, since a clear-cut division of the two is not possible. Gregory's theological ideas find expression in significant words, which form his specific vocabulary. Here theological and philological evidence coincide. In a philosophical or theological thinker, the terminological element of his language naturally constitutes an important factor of his intellectual character and of his individuality as a writer. But since it requires some insight into the history of asceticism to understand this terminology, we shall have to make a few introductory remarks on its development.

Many explanations have been given for the rise of the ascetic movement in the early Christian Church. One derives it from the earliest form of Christianity as described in the New Testament, another from the pagan or Jewish environment of the Christian communities, which had developed its own form of asceticism

even before the rise of the Christian religion. A special variant of this view is the attempt to derive the Christian ascetic ideal from the philosophy of Neoplatonism, which preceded the flowering of Christian monasticism by a century and from the beginning showed a strong ascetic tendency. But such a reconstruction of the origin of Christian asceticism obviously oversimplifies matters. In reaction to this theory, many modern scholars are inclined to reject completely any influence of a highly intellectual movement such as Neoplatonism on Christian asceticism, which to a large extent sprang from the non-intellectual lower strata of the population. Even if ascetic tendencies did exist on both levels, it seems hardly possible to regard the philosophical form of this trend as the cause of a phenomenon that extended so far beyond the limits of intellectual culture and showed a spontaneous and vigorous growth on all social and intellectual levels, even the most primitive.

On the other hand, it is easy to see that one of the characteristic features of Gregory's ascetic thought is precisely its philosophic content and form of expression. We shall give numerous examples of this shortly, but the fact is so obvious and determines the spirit and form of his teaching to such a degree that we must give his 'Platonizing' philosophy due credit [1], at least for the

[1] On the Platonic element in Gregory's thought in general see Harold Cherniss, *The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa* (Berkeley 1930) and Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique* (Paris 1944). Smaller articles on this problem are listed in the detailed bibliography given by the latter, p. 334 sq. These two books of Cherniss and Daniélou are of widely different intent. Cherniss finds in Gregory much that is Platonic but thinks that Gregory has not improved Platonism by applying and adjusting its ideas to Christian problems. Daniélou, on the other hand, believes that Gregory's 'Platonism' is no longer Platonic and that it must be judged on the basis of its Christian motifs rather than its original philosophical intention—in other

special type of asceticism that he represents. If we are correct in stating that the Christian ascetic movement did not originally spring from the Neoplatonic philosophy of the time, when and where did it undergo this fusion with the philosophical ideals of contemplation and perfection? Gregory was not the first Christian theologian to speculate about the Divine and about man's relation to it in Platonic terms and language. This form of theological thought came to him through the influence of his brother and teacher Basil, who, like Gregory Nazianzen, had the highest esteem for Origen, the father of systematic Christian theology. Whether Origen took his Platonic philosophy from the Neoplatonic movement, which began in his generation in Egypt, his homeland, or whether he was a Platonist in his own right, continuing the tradition of the so-called Middle Platonism of the second century, it must at any rate be admitted that Christian *theology*, as differing from the simple religious faith of the people (οἱ ἁπλούστεροι), started at the moment when Christianity began to take issue with the ideas of the Platonic philosophy of the time and to take on the form of 'dogma', 'doctrine', and 'system'. This happened in Alexandria, where Christian religion and Greek philosophy were at first taught side by side, but soon began to permeate each other and to create that new philosophical and rationalized form of Christian religion, theology. It had started a generation before Origen with his teacher and predecessor in the 'school of catechetes', Clement of Alexandria. From this time begins a new phase in the history of Christianity in which theology plays a predominant role. The great change that we observe in ascetic thought and practice during the

words, there has been a complete metamorphosis of its traditional meaning.

following period is only one of the many symptoms of the profound influence of this great new power, theology. It not only shaped and formulated the dogma of the Church by a historical process that lasted for two centuries, but soon began to exercise a similar influence on Christian life and to reshape and formulate the ideals of Christian virtue and the perfect life.

What Gregory has in common with this earlier phase of ascetic theology is the idea that there is a higher state of perfection and assimilation to God than that of mere 'faith' (πίστις). This higher state Clement of Alexandria and Origen had called *gnosis*, knowledge. To be sure, the trend towards a fulfillment of what we anticipate in faith by the attainment of a higher degree of religious certainty, through direct vision of the Divine Being, extended far beyond the Alexandrian school. It had already produced the various forms of speculation that the Church condemned as heretic gnosticism. Clement and Origen represent that branch of this general trend towards *gnosis* that was able to maintain itself within the Church, at least temporarily. Without this Hellenic striving for a philosophic understanding of what we believe, theology would never have arisen in the Christian world. And whatever the differences between heretic and non-heretic *gnosis*, and however hard it proved later for the Church to accept even the Origenistic form of it, it was precisely this hazardous attempt to intellectualize the supraintellectual that called theology into being.

Insofar as he was inspired by this great example, Gregory of Nyssa was an Origenist, even though he did not adopt the more eccentric ideas that were the fruit of Origen's bold theological fancy. Knowledge of being (γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων) is the supreme end of religion for Gregory. God is the inaccessible object of a long process

of purification of the soul, through which it approaches the knowledge of 'the absolute good' by degrees. His concept of ascetic life is inseparable from this concept of religion [1]. Christianity is, according to him, the mystery of the separation and liberation of the soul from all material bondage to the senses and its ascent and return to God. Human nature was created by God in His image (κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν), but through his own free will (αὐτεξούσιον), the very quality that he shared with the divine model, man chose the evil (τὸ κακόν, τὸ πονηρόν) instead of the good (ἀγαθόν) and so was alienated from his creator. This was the origin of sin and death in the life of man, who had been created immortal. The roots of his corruption were the senses (αἴσθησις, αἰσθητήρια) and the pleasure (ἡδονή) by which they attracted man and lured him into their trap [2].

But though by the fall of Adam the nature of man has been corrupted and his will weakened, Gregory

[1] This concept of *gnosis* therefore occurs at the very beginning of the treatise *De instituto Christiano* (41, 3 and 10) as the road to salvation (p. 41, 18). The *Vita Moysis* 348B shows the same close connection of *gnosis* with the salvation of man: through lack of *gnosis* man is delivered to his πάθη, whereas its possession liberates his mind from their tyranny (cf. *Vita Moysis* 357 D). The ultimate object of this *gnosis*, which enables man to choose the good and distinguish it from evil, is God, the absolute good (τὸ ὄντως ἀγαθόν). See F. Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa* (Münster 1896) p. 56 sq., where a great number of characteristic passages are listed in the footnotes. The close connection of the *gnosis* of God with the ascetic life in Gregory's theology is rightly stressed by Diekamp, p. 47 and 73 sq. Only the purified soul can 'become a mirror of God' according to the principle ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ γινώσκεται. Thus at the beginning of the catechism of the ascetic life in the *De instituto Christiano* the soul is said to recognize God and His will by separating itself from the body and the sense organs and by contemplating its own nature. Exactly the same idea is to be found in the *De anima et resurrectione* 89C. On its Platonic origin see my *Aristotle*, p. 23.

[2] Cf. *De inst. Chr.* 40, 6.

rejects the opinion of those who believe that since the passions (πάθη) are to be reckoned with in man's present existence, he is subject to their rule by his very nature. Man as he came from the hands of the Creator was meant to control his passions and not to be controlled by them. Stronger than his desire for sensual pleasures and the evil deeds that spring from them is man's inborn desire for the good; it remains alive in spite of Adam's fall [1]. This conception of the nature of man pervades all the writings of Gregory that are concerned with his theological anthropology, especially his ascetic works. The *Vita Moysis* and the *In Psalmos* are Gregory's most important contributions to this problem. They are not devoted to biography in the historical sense or to literal exegesis, as we might expect from the titles. In the first of these works, Moses is represented, after Origen's well-known manner of allegorical interpretation, as a model of a life of perfect virtue (ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίος). In the same way, the work *In Psalmos* is meant as an introduction to Christian ethics (περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν διδασκαλία). The *In Cantica Canticorum* must also be included in this group, since it depicts the heavenly marriage of the soul with Christ in the perfect life of the Christian. Gregory deals more directly with the ascetic life in the *De virginitate.* These books lend themselves better to a comparison with the theological content of the treatise *De instituto Christiano* than his great dogmatic works, such as the voluminous *Contra Eunomium,* devoted to polemic against the Arian heresy, or the *Oratio catechetica magna,* in which Gregory lays down his own theology. These dogmatic works are more concerned with the nature of God than with the life of man, which is the problem discussed in the treatise on the ascetic life. But the *De virginitate,* the *Vita Moysis,* the *In Cantica,* and the *In Psalmos*

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 40, 7.

offer striking parallels to the views of the treatise.

If we compare their doctrine of human nature, we find in them the same basic belief in the original goodness of man. Though in its present state it is disfigured by the marks of the πάθη, we discern its true essence in the innate desire (πόθος, ἔρως) of the soul for the good (ἀγαθόν). This desire, not the passions, is a part of the essence of human nature (συνουσιωμένος) [1]. We recognize this as soon as we momentarily separate the soul from the influence of the body and attempt to contemplate the soul in and of itself (τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς). This idea of the χωρισμός of the intellective soul from the senses is familiar to us from Plato's dialogues, and so is the concept of ἔρως, the desire for the eternal good, which leads us to the liberation of our true nature through knowledge of the truth (γνῶσις τῆς ἀληθείας) [2]. Plato had said, at the end of his *Republic*, that the only knowledge worth possessing is φρόνησις —the kind of knowledge that enables man to discern (κρίνειν) the

[1] See *De inst. Chr.* 40, 7 and note 2.

[2] The Platonic concept of ἔρως or πόθος occurs often in Gregory and permeates all his works (passages are too numerous to quote or even to select a few at random). Cf. *De inst. Chr.* 40, 10; 80, 2; 81, 4. This insatiable ἔρως is by nature directed towards the good (ἀγαθόν), or, as Gregory elsewhere quotes from Plato's *Symposium*, it aims at 'the beautiful' (καλόν). The man who is directed by it in his striving is called lover of beauty (ἐραστὴς τοῦ κάλλους, see *Vita Moysis* 401D, and cf. 404D, 405B, D). God is for Gregory the archetype of beauty (τὸ ἀρχέτυπον κάλλος, a favorite term, or πρωτότυπον κάλλος); see *In Cant.* 868 D and 877 A, *De virg.* 296, 8, *Vita Moysis* 429 B, *De an. et resurr.* 89 C, etc. As such He is the object of the infinite desire and ardent love of all who recognize Him. The act of recognition is described as θεᾶσθαι τὸ κάλλος, e.g. *De virg.* 289, 11, which is taken from the θεωρία of the idea of the Good in Plato. The term συνουσιωμένος (consubstantiated or consubstantial, cf. *De inst. Chr.* 40, 7) is used with regard to this desire of human nature in the sense of συμπεφυκώς and συνημμένος τῇ φύσει (see *ibid.*). Cf. *Vita Moysis* 401 D, *De mortuis* 497 B, *De Beat.* 1249 C, *Contra Eun.* I p. 106, 12.

good from the evil and to choose (αἱρεῖσθαι) the good.[1] Gregory equates this with the biblical concept of διάκρισις καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ[2], which he interprets in the Platonic manner as the distinction of apparent goods (φαινόμενα ἀγαθά) from the true good (ὄντως ἀγαθόν)[3]. Truth exists only where we pierce through appearance to being. Therefore this highest knowledge is also called knowledge of being (γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων). God is at the same time the supreme Being and the absolute Good. He is the cause of all that is good in the universe. This Platonic scheme presupposes a hierarchy of being (ὄντα) and of goods (ἀγαθά) that culminates in God as the transcendent cause[4]. A knowledge of the nature of God itself is unattainable by the human mind. There is no adequate knowledge of God. Every attempt to determine His nature by applying to it one of the predicates taken from our sensual experience and from the world of the finite can lead only to the negation of that predicate with regard to its applicability to Him, because He is infinite[5]. This so-called 'negative theology' (θεολογία ἀποφατική) Gregory shares with the Neoplatonic philosophers, though the idea goes much farther back, and he is likely to have inherited it rather from Origen and Philo[6].

[1] Plat. *Rep.* X 618 B-C.

[2] Hebr. 5, 14. This passage is therefore of fundamental importance for Gregory. It is quoted many times.

[3] See the distinction of τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν (or καλόν) and τὸ ὄντως ἀγαθόν (καλόν) that occurs frequently in Gregory's works, e.g. *De virg.* 292, 24 sq., 293, 22 sq., 296, 9-20. It is also called τὸ ὄντως ὄν (*Vita Moysis* 333 C).

[4] God is therefore called by Gregory, like Plato's idea of the good, ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὄντων (or τῶν ἀγαθῶν); cf. Plat. *Rep.* VI 509 B; this is the more remarkable because the idea of the good is Plato's divine principle.

[5] See Diekamp *loc. cit.* p. 122 sq.

[6] On Philo's theory of the unknowability of God see Harry A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in*

But in spite of God's transcendence, there is a long way of gradual approach to Him. This is the path of knowledge. In the treatise as well as in the *Vita Moysis* and the *In Psalmos* Gregory depicts it as a toilsome ascent (ἄνοδος, ἀνάβασις) [1] and a ceaseless struggle (πόνος, ἀγών, κάματος), which we must carry on in the sweat of our brow (ἱδρώς) [2]. In this process knowledge and virtue are inseparable. Without knowledge it is impossible to discern the goal (σκοπός) [3] of the 'philosophic life' (ὁ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν βίος) [4]. This is why

Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Cambridge, Mass. 1947), vol. II p. 24-164. The influence of Philo on Gregory of Nyssa was observed even by the scribes of our mediaeval manuscripts of Gregory, who evidently knew both authors well. ὅρα τὸν Φίλωνα occurs as a marginal exclamation several times in our manuscripts of Gregory's second *Antirrheticus against Eunomius*. Among Byzantine theologians this seems to have been common knowledge. Gregory's keen interest in Philo is indeed very natural. Philo represents in the Jewish tradition that stage that corresponds to the position of Origen in the history of the Christian religion: the stage at which the Hellenistic Jews came into close contact with Greek philosophy and rational speculation about God, and in reaction to the deep impression that it made on them developed their own theology—a mixture of the rational Greek element with the historical tradition of Jewish religion. When Origen did the same thing for Christianity, he could to a large extent take the great Alexandrian Jew as his model. Philo, the theologian among the Jews, became in many respects more important for him than the earlier Christian writers, who either represented a pre-theological stage of the Christian mind or possessed a more primitive and not fully rationalized theology. For Gregory of Nyssa Philo had the same importance that he had had for Origen, and for the same reason.

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 41, 15; 41, 21 sq.; 42, 15 sq.; 47, 10; 77, 10. Cf. e.g. *In Psalm.* 456 B, 457 B, 468 A, 485 B; *Vita Moysis* 372 C, 373 C, 377 C-D, 404 D; 405 B, 409 B, 425 B, 429 C, *In Cant.* 876 B-D.

[2] *De inst. Chr.* 43, 13; 46, 13 sq.; 24; 47, 20; 57, 13; 75, 1; 75, 21; 76, 8; 84, 7; 84, 17; 87, 11. Cf. e.g. *De Beat.* 1273 B, *In Psalm.* 572 B-C, *Vita Moysis* 425 A.

[3] σκοπός cf. *De inst. Chr.* 41, 16, 18; 61, 5; 63, 20; 66, 14; 79, 15, etc.

[4] *De inst. Chr.* 41, 20; 48, 13; 64, 6; 66, 5-14; 83, 3.

Gregory calls the life of the perfect Christian the true ἄσκησις. In this sense religion (εὐσέβεια) is *gnosis* of the divine good or 'will of God' towards which man's will must be directed [1]. But knowledge increases only with the growth of man's entire nature and with his spiritual coming of age [2]. Gregory visualizes this process as a sequence of steps or stages (βαθμοί, βαθμίδες) marking the advance towards the goal of perfection (τελειότης) [3]. This process of salvation is the mystery of the new religion. It is interpreted as the gradual purification of the soul (καθαρισμός) from the stain (μολυσμός) of the material world [4] and its final liberation (λύτρωσις) from the servitude (δουλεία) of the passions (πάθη). The goal of this lifelong struggle is the freedom of man (ἐλευθερία) from the tyranny of evil. This true freedom consists in the complete absence of passion (ἀπάθεια): the free man is ὁ ἀπαθής [5].

Stoic terms are blended with Platonic concepts in this

[1] The 'will of God' is substituted for the Platonic 'idea of the good' *De inst. Chr.* 41, 16 sq.; thus Gregory adapts this basic philosophical concept to Christian doctrine and biblical language. In the *De virginitate*, an early book, and even in the *Vita Moysis*, Gregory is less cautious in his use of the traditional language of philosophy. A striking parallel to this caution may be seen in Clem. Rom. ep. I c. 20, where this early Christian writer, in praising cosmic harmony and concord, borrows numerous details from a Stoic cosmological work but repeatedly refers to the 'will of God' as the true cause and origin of the order of the universe.

[2] *De inst. Chr.* 46, 6-15.

[3] βαθμοί, βαθμίδες cf. *Epist. canon.* 232 A; *Vita Moysis* 401 B; *In Psalm.* 449 B, 456 B, 457 B, 465 C, 481 B, 592 C; *In Cant.* 876 B.

[4] κηλίς, μολυσμός, μολύνεσθαι, etc. *De inst. Chr.* 44, 5; 48, 2; 48, 18; 64, 5; *In Cant.* 877 C; *Vita Moysis* 316 A, 345 A, 373 B, 385 C; κάθαρσις, καθαρισμός, etc. *De inst. Chr.* 43, 14; 49, 5; 49, 15; 79, 17; *Vita Moysis* 368 B, 380 A, 413 C; *Vita Macr.* 398, 14 sq., 402, 9.

[5] δουλεία, ἐλευθερία, ἀπάθεια cf. *Vita Moysis* 333 C-336 A, 341 B-C, 364 A, D, 372 A, 401 C, 416 A.

philosophy of the 'life of virtue' (ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίος). Platonic are terms like ακοπός, τέλος, αἰσθητά, νοητά, φαινόμενα, ὄντα, γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων, ἔρως, ὄρεξις, πόθος, ἐγκράτεια τῆς ψυχῆς, ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίος, ἄνοδος, τὸ ἄνω, and many others. Of Stoic origin are the terms ἐλευθερία, ἀπάθεια, πόνος, ὁρμή, προκοπή, κατόρθωμα, κατορθοῦν, etc. Some of these go back to Socrates himself and are therefore not entirely alien to Platonic philosophy, though they did not receive equal emphasis there or become equally stereotyped (as ,for example, ἐλευθερία or πόνος). A similar mixture of Stoic and Platonic (including Aristotelian) terms is to be found in Philo's writings, and hence in the works of the church fathers who followed him. But the same phenomenon occurs independently in the language of the later pagan philosophers. The mixture is therefore not to be attributed to Gregory's personal preference [1].

How then can we tell whether or not a work is written by him? Certainly not by his use of any one of these concepts, but only by the occurrence of this entire set of philosophical terms and the views that correspond to them—in other words, by his entire philosophy. The sum total of all these ideas and the characteristic

[1] In nineteenth century works on Origen or Gregory it was customary to call the philosophy of these fathers 'eclectic', because they used the technical terms of the Platonic, Stoic, and other schools *promiscue*; but this is a much too mechanical way of dealing with the phenomenon. Their philosophy might seem eclectic to people who do not know the history of later Greek philosophy but do possess a textbook knowledge of the doctrines and terminology of Plato, Aristotle, or the early Stoa. In reality the ideas of all the earlier schools had left their indelible stamp on the tradition of Hellenistic philosophical thought, and they had been mixed in varying degrees by every writer since the time of the Middle Stoa and the New Academy. Gregory speaks this common philosophical language of late ancient philosophy, but of course that does not make him an 'eclectic'. The same mixture is already to be found in Philo and Origen.

pattern into which they are fitted in his theological thought, the specific emphasis placed on each of them and the peculiar spirit of the whole—this and nothing less than this makes up the individual χαραχτήρ, the τύπος εὐσεβείας of Gregory of Nyssa [1]. To be sure, he shares many of these ideas with Clement or Origen, but he is less literary and sophisticated than Clement, less didactic and prosaic than Origen. There are many ideas in Gregory that received their first coinage from his brother Basil, who was not only a powerful ruler of the Church but also the leading theological mind of the Cappadocian school; but he is more authoritative, more harsh and realistic than Gregory, much less emotional, mystical, gnostic, and enthusiastic. Compared with Origen, of whom he thinks so highly, Basil represents a return of theology from bold speculation to the Bible, both in thought and language. Of course in his polemic writings he had to use the philosophical terminology of his time in order to meet his adversaries on their own ground. But in his ascetic writings Basil clings consciously to the words of the Scriptures, as is most obvious in his *Regulae fusius tractatae.* In one of his smaller ascetic books he makes some interesting statements about this problem and about the two different kinds of language he uses in his works [2]. But even if we must admit that Gregory took over many ideas from his brother, he never went along with Basil's biblicism entirely, either in speculation or in language [3]. We have already mentioned

[1] Gregory himself uses this term in *De inst. Chr.* 43, 6; it proves that he was aware of the existence of various types of Christian religion, one of them being the philosophical type that he himself represents.

[2] Basil, *De fide* 224 B. Cf. W. K. L. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil* (London 1925) p. 91.

[3] See K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium,* Tübingen 1904, p. 198 sq.

an instance that shows this clearly. Basil refrains from calling the monks φιλόσοφοι or their ascetic life ὁ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν (or ὁ φιλόσοφος) βίος, whereas they are favorite terms for Gregory in all his writings [1]. They occur as well in the treatise *De instituto Christiano*, where he speaks of the monks (he never once uses the technical words μοναχός or μοναστήριον) as ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας χορός, or οἱ τὸν θεοφιλῆ βίον αἱρούμενοι or ἠρημένοι, or οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότες [2]. The greatest achievement of Christian philosophy (κατόρθωμα φιλοσοφίας) is to be great in works but humble of heart [3]. The ascetic life is called 'the whole path of philosophy' (πᾶσα φιλοσοφίας ὁδός) [4]. These classical phrases express precisely his own feeling and 'ethos'. His theological thought is a Christian philosophy, and the perfect life to him means the life of contemplation, θεογνωσία. This term, though not entirely unknown to earlier writers, assumes a special vigor and mystic meaning in Gregory's works. It is significant that a later work entitled Θεογνωσία was erroneously, but almost inevitably, attributed to Gregory by the Byzantine scribes. It would indeed fit his thought, if its style did not prove that it is not a product of his pen [5].

[1] See Clarke, *loc. cit.*, 141 n. 2.
[2] *De inst. Chr.* 41, 20; 64, 4-6; 66, 14; 79, 16.
[3] *De inst. Chr.* 66, 4.
[4] *De inst. Chr.* 83, 3.
[5] See my *Der neuentdeckte Commentar zum Johannesevangelium und Dionysios Areopagites* (in Ber. Berlin Akad., phil-hist. Kl., 1930) p. 4 sq. The word θεογνωσία is used often by Gregory; see e.g. *Vita Moysis* 372 D, 377 D. The unknown author of the lost *Theognosia* falsely attributed to Gregory of Nyssa can be dated, now that another of his works, the *Commentary on St. John*, which clearly belongs to the ninth century (i.e. the time after the iconoclastic era), has been discovered. A marginal scholium to this book in the hand of the scribe refers to the *Theognosia* as an earlier work of the same author. The large fragments that Euthymius Zigabenus quotes from the *Theognosia* in his great

As a result of the foregoing inquiry we can state that the treatise *De instituto Christiano* provides, in its theological thought and terminology, a complete parallel to the other works of Gregory that deal with the same subject, his *Vita Moysis*, *In Cantica*, and *In Psalmos*. What we have stated above about the identity of the philosophical elements of his terminology is confirmed by the more specific theological views and technical terms of these writings. We have already mentioned the negative fact that in the treatise as elsewhere Gregory does not speak of μοναστήρια and μοναχοί, which were soon to become technical words. This is an individual note that distinguishes Gregory's conception of the ascetic life from that of Basil [1]. On the other hand, he is quite close to Basil's terminology in the *Rules* in that he calls the superiors or seniors of the monasteries προεστῶτες and not ἡγούμενοι, καθηγούμενοι, or ἐξηγούμενοι, as did the authors of the spurious treatises on ascetic life that are preserved under Basil's name, or as did Palladius in the *Historia Lausiaca* [2]. They all reflect a later stage in the historical development, when the organization and discipline of the monasteries had become more

Panoplia dogmatikè should therefore no longer be printed among the fragments of Gregory of Nyssa. Most of the other fragments printed in *P.G.* XLVI 1123 sq. can also be identified with passages of other authors and will disappear in the new critical edition.

[1] See p. 82.

2 See the term οἱ προεστῶτες *De inst. Chr.* 41, 20; 67, 12; 68, 15; 69, 7. This is the word used by Basil throughout the *Rules*. The technical terms ἡγούμενοι or καθηγούμενοι are found only in the spurious ascetic treatises preserved under Basil's name; cf. *Sermo Asceticus* II, *P.G.* XXXI 888 C ἡ προκαθηγουμένη (mother superior); *Sermo Asceticus* I, *P.G.* XXXI 876 B, has both προεστώς and καθηγούμενος; cf. 877 C, 880 A. It also speaks of μοναχοί, ἀσκούμενοι, ἀσκητικὸς βίος in a rather technical way. Both these works evidently drew upon Basil's *Regulae fus. tract.* but are not genuine. I give no examples from the *Historia Lausiaca*, since they are so frequent.

rigidified. The treatise therefore belongs to the generation of Basil, a knowledge of whose *Rules* it presupposes in many passages [1]. On the other hand, the frequent use that the 'Macarius' writings make of our treatise, from single references or the paraphrase of single passages to the copying of half the entire work, proves that it was a famous book in the monastic circles of the East by the time these works were written, and this bears out Gregory's own statement that he wrote the treatise at the request of a number of monks and their superiors to serve them as a guide for their ascetic life, after the

[1] I shall not here discuss in detail the relationship of Gregory's *De instituto Christiano* to Basil's *Rules*; to do so would unduly expand the present inquiry. But there are many congruencies between Gregory's treatise and the general framework of ideas in Basil's famous work. Naturally there are few such parallels in the large sections of the *Rules* in which Basil deals with the many details of daily monastic routine. Gregory had always left such καθ' ἕκαστον to Basil, from his earliest ascetic book, the *De virginitate* (see supra p. 19), to this last one. But almost every page of the treatise gives proof that he had studied the *Rules* carefully and practically knew them by heart. His treatise and Basil's book have in common the purpose for which they were written, but they differ in their way of approach to it. The *Rules* are written in the then common literary form of 'question and answer' (see H. Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien* p. 451), whereas the treatise is a λόγος προτρεπτικός. The *Rules* regulate the details of monastic discipline, the treatise speaks of the spirit of the ascetic life. Nevertheless in both books there is a very similar attitude to the problem. They both start by defining the goal of Christian life (σκοπὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας, Basil 889 A, Gregory 41, 15), in order to direct the whole life of the ascetic towards it. Both works presuppose an actual occasion (καιρός) for which they were written (συνεληλύθαμεν Basil 889 A, συνεληλύθατε Gregory 42, 12). Their theological thought coincides in general as well as in numerous details. Both, for example, take as point of departure the natural striving of man for the good (τῶν τε γὰρ καλῶν ἐσμεν ἐπιθυμηταὶ φυσικῶς Basil 909 B, Gregory 40, 7 sq.) and the desire for purification of the soul, and they call this a gift of God. Both connect this theory with the biblical statement (Gen. 1, 26) that God created man in His image etc.

example of Basil's *Rules* [1]. The absolute identity of the style, the views, and the terminology of the treatise with those of Gregory's other works, the exact shade of its agreement with Basil's thought, and its individual approach to the problem would all unmistakably betray Gregory's authorship, even if it were not expressly maintained by our manuscript tradition.

One of the most interesting aspects of the theology of the treatise is its doctrine of grace and the part it plays in the process of salvation. We have already pointed out how closely Gregory follows Greek ethical philosophy in his conception of Christian religion (εὐσέβεια) as ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίος and in his interpretation of ἀρετή as a lifelong ἀγών, a ceaseless πόνος and κάματος of man [2]. This implies, speaking in biblical terms, a high estimate of 'works' (ἔργα) as the fruits of 'faith' (πίστις). It may be said, of course, that all Greek Christian writers after St. Paul, beginning with the Epistle of St. James and that of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, down to the great fathers of the fourth century, insist on the importance of works, and that St. Paul himself would not consider genuine a faith that did not bear fruit. In the mind of the Greeks, especially, the concept of human ἀρετή was too deeply rooted ever to be neglected or underestimated; and their natural propensity led them rather to the misunderstanding of Christianity as rational moralism than to the opposite extreme. But even if this be true as a general fact, the way in which Gregory's treatise elaborates on this problem must give it a special interest in the eyes of

[1] For the influence of Gregory's treatise on the 'Macarius' writings on the ascetic life, see the later chapters of the present book. On the occasion for which Gregory wrote the treatise, see *De inst. Chr.* 41, 10-43, 7.

[2] See p. 75, 78.

all who bear in mind the controversial issues that were to be raised on this point in later centuries.

This interest is intensified by the fact that the treatise must belong to Gregory's last years (after Basil's death), the nineties of the fourth century [1], and is therefore separated from the outbreak of the great Pelagian controversy in the Western Church (during the later period of St. Augustine's life) by only a short interval. There is for us an element of dramatic suspense as we watch the effort Gregory makes in the treatise to settle the old problem of grace and works in his philosophical manner and to define their respective parts in the process of man's salvation. So deeply rooted is he in the tradition of classical poetry and in the moral heroism of Greek philosophy that it could never have occurred to him to underrate the moral responsibility of the individual or to lessen the ceaseless intensity of his wrestling for the victor's crown in this new Christian Olympic ἀγών.

But though he never tires of stressing this aspect and of insisting that the greatest obstacle to the attainment of grace is the relaxing of one's own efforts after the first encouraging sign of divine help in the daily struggle for progress (προκοπή) [2], Gregory denies on principle that perfection can be attained by human effort alone. If it ever is achieved on this earth, it is due to the intervention of some higher power. Again, one might say that in taking this viewpoint Gregory is in full accord not only with the Christian faith but also with ancient Greek tradition. How often did Homer and the other great poets, in depicting the heroic efforts of human ἀρετή, declare that the goal was attained 'not without

[1] See the chapter *The Date of Composition of the Treatise*, p. 117 sq.

[2] See *De inst. Chr.* 60, 10 sq., 16, 18 sq., 65, 8 sq.

a god' (οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ τινος)! The Christian faith, with its sincere humility, had infinitely sharpened human perception of this aspect of the problem. Less Hellenizing interpreters of St. Paul's statements might see here a radical break with the classical tradition and its 'autarchy', as later Protestant theologians have been wont to do. But this was not the natural tendency of the great writers of the Eastern Church.

The interesting fact in Gregory's treatise is this, that at the same time that he tries to establish the role of divine grace in man's ascetic perfection, he also feels the need for an even balance between the two factors of divine grace (χάρις) and human effort (πόνος, ἀγών) or righteousness (δικαιοσύνη). He is tireless in pointing out biblical passages in which the need for incessant human effort is emphasized, and he postulates a strict reciprocity between the effect of grace and human works, so that the gift of grace can, so to speak, be measured by the increased efforts of him who receives it. 'It is the grace of the Spirit that gives (δωρεῖται) eternal life and unspeakable heavenly joy, but the *erōs* of doubled effort, which is the fruit of faith, makes a soul worthy (ἀξίαν παρέχει) to receive the gifts and to enjoy the grace (ἀπολαῦσαι). When the work of righteousness (δικαιοσύνης ἔργον) and the grace of the Spirit (πνεύματος χάρις) come together (συνελθοῦσαι) in the same soul, they fill the soul with blessed life by their mutual support (μετ' ἀλλήλων); but when they are divorced from one another (διαζυγεῖσαι) they offer the soul no gain. For the grace of God cannot enter a soul that rejects salvation, and the power of human virtue (ἀρετή) is not in itself sufficient to elevate (ἀναβιβάσαι) to the form of (divine) life a soul that does not partake in grace' (*De inst. Chr.* 46, 26-47, 11).

So to the gift of grace there corresponds on the part

of man a worthiness (ἀξία) or a being-found-worthy (ἀξιοῦσθαι, καταξιοῦσθαι, favorite words of Gregory). This thought reminds one of the old Greek religious idea, adopted and deepened by Greek philosophy, that only the pure can approach God. Of course the Christian belief in the mercy of a God who pities the sinner and the concurrent idea that no one on earth is pure had deeply affected that ancient tradition. But the ascetic conception of Christian life reconciled both. In its approach to God it no longer took purity as point of departure. But in accepting the gift of grace as the spiritual dynamis, it still postulated a lifelong process of purification (καθαρισμός) as an effect of divine help, and in this way perfection became the goal of the mystic journey of man's earthly life. It is true that the καταξιοῦσθαι of man is an act of divine initiative that sets this process in motion; but it presupposes an ἀξία, a worthiness on the part of the καταξιούμενος. And at this point the struggle of the soul becomes a determining factor that 'makes man worthy to receive the gifts and to enjoy the grace'.

Gregory's treatise may be characterized as the work in which the theology of the Eastern Church reached the culminating point of its tendency to bring the two basic elements of the Christian religion, divine grace and human effort, into perfect balance. At the same time the treatise attempted a reconciliation of the Christian concept of grace with the Hellenic ethical tradition, the classical ideal of *areté*. Obviously it would be unhistorical to approach this philosophical effort from the point of view of the Augustinian doctrine of grace, which was formulated not much later in the course of Augustine's long and bitter fight against Pelagius' theory that the salvation of man can be achieved only by his moral virtue, and that human nature can attain true per-

fection 'easily' through its own resources. As a consequence of Augustine's victory in this dispute (which determined the dogma of the Western Church), the theory of the perfectibility of man through his own natural virtue was condemned by the Church. From the point of view of orthodox faith, which rejected Pelagius' doctrine as heresy, Gregory's attempt at reconciling grace and nature is not much better. It would have to be classified as Semipelagianism. But such a classification would be anachronistic, and the same is true with regard to any application of the Protestant theory of grace, which went to what Gregory would have called the other extreme. For there can be no doubt that he saw the situation in terms of opposite one-sided extremes. Here as elsewhere the theology of the Cappadocian school aims at a kind of Aristotelian mean. Express reference to it is made several times in their writings, but its importance for the theological attitude of Basil or Gregory goes much farther than that. Its influence could easily be traced in many details throughout their doctrine as a whole. They would hardly have admitted that this was due to a spirit of practical compromise, but would have insisted that it was, on the contrary, the way of wisdom and truth as well as practicability. It follows that they rejected Arianism and Sabellianism likewise. Gregory's treatise is another striking example of this general attitude [1].

If we ask what led Gregory to attempt this solution of the problem of grace and 'works' (ἔργα) such a short

[1] This striving for a perfect balance makes itself felt throughout Gregory's thought, from his early writings down to the late work *De instituto Christiano*. Thus in the *De virginitate* Gregory recommends purity and an ascetic life, but he strongly advises against every excess of austerity (cf. *De virg.* 330, 15 sq.). On the Aristotelian μεσότης as a valid general principle and true dogma, see *Vita Moysis* 420 A sq.

time before the outbreak of the Pelagian storm in the Latin Church was to give this issue priority over all other questions, we must not make the mistake that modern historians of dogma have sometimes made in isolating the Pelagian controversy as if it represented a separate act in the drama of the Latin Church, springing from a local dispute and from the character and opinions of two men, Pelagius and Augustine [1]. Such a treatment of the matter is a carryover from the abstract classification methods of the ancient heresiologists. When we read Gregory's treatise in the light of what happened a few years later, it is obvious that we are here observing an important development in the origin of the problem. It had become so actual a question as a result of the new religious zeal for self-perfection that animated the ascetic movement of that whole generation. Gregory is its outstanding representative in the Greek Church towards the end of the fourth century. From that time on the steady stream of asceticism poured upon the West its ideals of perfection and of the 'philosophic life'. Pelagius was only an extreme representative of this perfectionist trend in the Church. His conception of the self-sufficiency of human virtue was a one-sided and rationalistic form of the ascetic ideal, and that is why he and his more fanatical disciples were singled out for attack. But he must be looked at against the entire background of asceticism in the East, where he took refuge when he was exiled from Italy.

It was just about the time that Gregory's ascetic works were written, towards the end of the fourth century, that the ideals of Greek monasticism began to

[1] Even Adolf Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* v. III[4], p. 167-201, does not really attack the problem of the relationship of Pelagianism to the ideas of Eastern asceticism prevailing at the time of the outbreak of the great controversy.

be propagated with new vigor in the Latin Church. Latin monasteries began to study or to adopt the *Rules* of St. Basil. They were brought to Italy by Rufinus of Aquileja when he returned from his long stay in the East [1]. Eastern ascetic religion, with its strict demand for moral sanctity and purification, made a deep impression in the Latin countries, and it soon spread from Italy to Africa and Spain, Illyricum, Gaul and Britain. Pelagius himself was of British origin. Even after his doctrines had finally been condemned, after long and vacillating disputes, Pelagianism rose again—this time in the modified form of so-called Semipelagianism—in the ascetic circles of the West. They offered a strong resistance to the officially adopted dogma, although the Church avoided the more radical consequences of St. Augustine's theory of grace and predestination that were later adopted by Calvinism. The close connection of these developments in the Western Church with the contemporary ascetic movement in the Greek East must be recognized. One cannot easily overrate the importance of the ascetic ideal of perfection, not only for Christian life but also for the history of faith and dogma. The philosophic ideas underlying the ascetic practice of the East did not meet with unanimous approval in the Latin Church, however, for a strong opposition to them arose, an opposition symptomatic and foreboding future developments. It proves that the schism between East and West was after all the expression of far deeper differences of life and faith than those implied in the famous controversy

[1] See the report of Rufinus in his *Hist. Eccles.* II 9. In 397 he visited Urseius, abbot of Pinetum near Ravenna, on his return from the East, and showed him Basil's *Rules*. He undertook his Latin translation of them at the instigation of Urseius. His version is printed in Migne *P.L.* CIII, 485 sq.

over the Holy Ghost, which later became the point of departure for the external separation of the Greek Orthodox Church from the Roman Catholic world of the Latin West.

Among other formulations of the relationship of divine grace and human works that we find in the treatise there is one that catches the eye because it employs a term later adopted by the theological party of the 'synergists': the word συνεργία. This is different from the mere συνελθεῖν that we find Gregory using in describing the convergent activities of grace and works (*De inst. Chr.* 47, 4), for this word does not delimit the range of each factor, whereas συνεργεῖν and συνεργία clearly mean something that contributes to the effect of an already existing faculty or its 'energy'. It is well known that in the course of the Reformation a certain theological party in the Protestant camp, disagreeing with Luther's extreme emphasis on grace, used this term and even called themselves after it. But a clear notion of their historical relationship to the late ancient discussion of this problem as we find it in Gregory's treatise does not seem to exist among our historians. Thus a noted theological encyclopedia of recent date defines synergism as the view according to which man gives a certain amount of cooperation to the grace of God, God being the main agent in the process. No reference is made to the existence of a theory of συνεργία in the early Church. Had it been mentioned, it would have been necessary to state that according to this ancient theory, which we find in Gregory's treatise, it is not man who cooperates with God but the grace of God that cooperates with the moral effort of man. This is indeed a striking difference, and one highly characteristic of the spirit of Gregory's theology. It seems therefore inevitable for us to discuss it here in

greater detail, especially since the concept of synergy is one that pervades the entire treatise. It is essential to Gregory's ascetic doctrine of perfection because it is closely related to the question of the priority of grace or human will. Here is a list of the significant passages in the treatise that refer to this theory (I include not only passages in which the words συνεργία, συνεργός and συνεργεῖν occur but also those containing synonyms of these terms and passages paraphrasing the same idea):

p. 44, 16 τὸ γὰρ πλούσιον καὶ ἄφθονον πνεῦμα τὸ ῥέον ἀεὶ τοῖς δεχομένοις τὴν χάριν ... τοῦτο τοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν εἰλικρινῶς δεξαμένοις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἑκάστου τῶν μετειληφότων πίστεως συνεργὸν καὶ σύνοικον παραμένει, οἰκοδομοῦν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τοῖς τῆς πίστεως ἔργοις σπουδήν (cf. 45, 3 τῷ τε ἱδρῶτι τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῇ τῆς χάριτος χορηγίᾳ; 45, 16 τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος δι' οἰκείας ἀρετῆς).

p. 46, 4 θέλημα τέλειον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων τὸ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας μορφωθῆναι ψυχήν, ἣν εἰς ἄκρον ἀνθίζει κάλλος ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις, τοῖς τοῦ μορφουμένου συγγενομένη πόνοις.

p. 46, 7 ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπίδοσις οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ... τὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς γεννήσεως ἀνανεώσει μέτρον καὶ κάλλος, ὃ παρέχει διὰ τῆς τοῦ δεχομένου σπουδῆς ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἤρτηται γνώμης· ὅσον γὰρ ἐκτείνεις τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνας, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς συνεκτείνεται μέγεθος διά τε ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων ... (The growth of the soul depends, unlike that of the body, upon man's own free will; the Spirit grants it according to the σπουδή of him who receives it; the farther we extend the efforts of our works the more the soul grows *through* our efforts.)

p. 46, 25 τοῖς τοῦ δεχομένου πόνοις ἡ δωρεὰ μετρεῖται τῆς χάριτος (there is a direct proportion between the efforts of the man who receives grace and the measure of grace received).

46, 26 τὴν ἀΐδιον ζωὴν . . . ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεῖται χάρις, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν τοῦ δέξασθαι τὰ δῶρα καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς χάριτος ὁ διὰ τῆς πίστεως περὶ τοὺς πόνους ἔρως παρέχει the grace of the Spirit is the giver of eternal life, but the tireless *erōs* to manifest our faith by works makes us worthy to receive and enjoy the Spirit's gifts).

p. 49, 8 καὶ ὅστις δι' ἔργων τε καὶ <νοημάτων> ἀγαθῶν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἀποδεξάμενος πνεῦμα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καρδίαν διεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ κακίας πάλιν ἀνέκτισεν (δι' ἔργων τε καὶ <νοημάτων> belongs to ἀποδεξάμενος: through good works and thoughts man is enabled to receive the Spirit, and with the assistance of it he becomes a new creature).

p. 54, 11 οὕτω δέ ἐστι πονηρὰ ταῦτα καὶ δυσίατα καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς ψυχῆς κεκτημένα, ὥστε μὴ δυνατὸν εἶναι διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης σπουδῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐκτρῖψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν, εἰ μή τις τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμιν σύμμαχον δι' εὐχῆς προσλαβὼν ἐπικρατήσειεν τῆς ἔνδον τυραννούσης κακίας (the corruption of the human heart is so deeply rooted that human virtue and zeal alone cannot eradicate it without enlisting the power of the Spirit as its ally, σύμμαχον = συνεργόν).

p. 55, 14 καὶ χάριτι πνεύματος καὶ ἀρετῆς ἔργοις ὠχυρωμένος.

p. 57, 13 τῷ γὰρ τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς προσκαρτεροῦντι πόνοις ἀ κ ο λ ο υ θ ε ῖ ταχέως ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις (grace *follows* closely upon the efforts of virtue).

p. 58, 14 λαβεῖν . . . αὔξησιν [!] διὰ τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος.

p. 61, 19 ὅταν γὰρ μισήσῃ μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν, οἰκειώσῃ δὲ ἑαυτὴν τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς πολιτείᾳ καὶ δέξηται . . . τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς ἑαυτὴν χάριν (notice the order: hatred of sin, efforts of human virtue, reception of the grace of the Spirit).

p. 70, 11 ὅπως τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ . . . μαθητοῦ καλῶς ἐκπαιδεύσας λαμπρὰν τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν προσαγάγῃς τῷ πατρί, κληρονόμον ἄξιον τῆς ἐκείνου δωρεᾶς (prepared by the παιδεία of virtue, the soul becomes a worthy 'heir' of the divine gift, i.e. the gift of grace).

p. 71, 23 οὐ γὰρ . . . αὐτομάτως ἡμῖν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπη ἐγγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλῶν πόνων . . . καὶ συνεργίας τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ (the love of God grows in the soul through many efforts and through the synergy of Christ, *scil.* who sends the Paraclete, cf. 79, 5).

p. 77, 8 ὅπως ἀεὶ τρεφόμενοι τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι καὶ δύναμιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσλαμβάνοντες τρέχωμεν ῥᾳδίως τὸν σωτήριον δρόμον, κοῦφον καὶ ἡδὺν ποιοῦντες τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀγῶνα, συναντιλαμβάνοντος ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πόνων σπουδήν.

p. 78, 13 τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα λαβὼν ἐντεῦθεν ὁδηγὸν καὶ σύμμαχον φλέγεται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀγάπην.

p. 84, 1 πάντα γὰρ ὑφίσταται πόνον τούτων ἕνεκεν ὁ τῆς ἄνω χαρᾶς ἐραστής, δι' ὧν ἐφέλκεται τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μεταλαμβάνων χάριτος καρποφορεῖ καὶ ἀπολαύει μετ' εὐφροσύνης τῆς γεωργίας, ἣν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ . . . ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν ἔργων ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγεώργησε χάρις (the efforts of the man who aspires to divine life *attract* the Spirit, ἐφέλκεται τὸ πνεῦμα, and so he comes to participate in its grace).

p. 84, 9 τὰ δὲ ἄνθη τῶν πόνων καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦ πνεύματος (δεῖ) εἶναι πιστεύειν ἐνεργείας (the Spirit makes our πόνοι flourish and bear fruit).

p. 85, 9 οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . ἐργάται διά τε τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς πόνων τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δεχόμενοι χάριτος (workers with Christ receive *through* faith and works of virtue the goods that are beyond their nature *from* the grace of the Spirit).

p. 85, 15 ἡ ψυχὴ κρείττων ἑαυτῆς γινομένη καὶ τῆς

τοῦ ἐχθροῦ . . . κακίας, οἰκητήριον καθαρὸν ἑαυτὴν παρέχει τῷ . . . πνεύματι (through its effort to transcend its own nature and to overcome evil, the soul becomes a dwelling-place for the Spirit).

p. 85, 20 λαβοῦσα δὲ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος χάριν (ἡ ψυχὴ) . . . τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἔργα ῥᾳδίως ἐπιτελεῖ (the grace of the Spirit makes the works of man's own virtue easier).

p. 86, 4 διὰ πολιτείας ἀγαθῆς (= ἀρετῆς ἔργων) καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς (through good works *and* the gift of the Spirit).

p. 87, 3 ὡς οὖν οὕτως ἐφ' ὑψηλὴν δύναμιν . . . μέλλοντες ἀνιέναι τῇ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος οὕτω πολιτεύεσθε πάντα πόνον καὶ ἀγῶνα . . . ὑφιστάμενοι (in order to obtain the synergy of the Spirit on your way upward, take upon yourselves every effort and labor).

p. 87, 19 προφασιζέσθω δὲ μηδεὶς πρὸς καλῶν ἔργων σπουδὴν ὡς ἀδύνατος ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ σῴζοντα τὴν ψυχήν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀδύνατον ἐπιτάττει τοῖς δούλοις.

p. 88, 2 ὡς ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα παρασχεῖν τὸ πράττειν τι δύνασθαι ἀγαθὸν καὶ μηδένα τῶν σπουδὴν ἐχόντων σωθῆναι διαμαρτεῖν τοῦ δύνασθαι (whoever has a sincere will to do something good can do it (*scil.* with the help of God's *agapé*, poured out to all everywhere), and no one who has an earnest zeal to be saved is deprived of the possibility).

To sum up, we must admit that in Gregory's treatise there is a definite doctrine of the function of divine grace in the process of man's salvation. The emphasis is on defining the mutual effect of grace (χάρις) and works (ἔργα, σπουδή, πόνος περὶ ἀρετῆς, ἀγών) with regard to the perfection of man (τελειότης). This theory is prompted by the writer's intention of giving the ascetics to whom he addresses himself in this work some practical assistance in their work of self-perfection.

The two works of Gregory directly concerned with τελειότης or ὁμοίωσις πρὸς τὸν θεόν, the *Quid nomen Christianorum sibi velit* and the *De perfectione*, remain more on the surface of the problem, or content themselves with fixing the goal [1]. The treatise *De instituto Christiano* marks a decided advance beyond this stage in the direction of practical education for the goal and towards a clearer distinction of the essential factors involved in the process. It is a first step towards the profound discussion of the problem that was to begin not much later in the Western Church, the dispute about grace and the perfectibility of human nature. As we have stated before, this dispute takes up the question as it had been formulated in Gregory's treatise with philosophic precision. Here the problem had taken on its hitherto most general form. The Semipelagians of the third decade of the fifth century, who dropped Pelagius' own doctrine, tried to keep to the middle of the road by stating the priority of free will over divine grace (either generally or in special cases), though they taught that it was impossible to bring what man's will had started to perfection without *Dei adiutorium*. This is, as we see, precisely the doctrine of συνεργία advanced by Gregory of Nyssa, inculcated in the present treatise and elsewhere. The formulas of the leading Semipelagians, such as John Cassian, Faustus, and Fulgentius of Ruspe, are merely a little more adapted to Augustine's view, but on the whole they stick to what they call 'the tradition' [2]. Though I have not yet been able to

[1] See the chapter *The ascetic Works of Gregory of Nyssa*, p. 27 and p. 29.

[2] Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* III[4] p.219, thinks that they were correct in claiming the tradition of the fathers in support of their views, but Catholic scholars have insisted that this agreement is only a superficial one. See the monograph of Friedrich Wörter, *Beiträge zur Dogmengeschichte des Semipelagianis-*

discover a *direct* impact of Gregory's book on the Pelagian controversy in the West, it certainly had a tremendous influence on the views of Eastern monasticism and its attitude towards the ascetic work of self-perfection, as we shall prove in the following chapters. It was from these quarters that Pelagius and the Western ascetics received their impulse and the courage for the prolonged and stiff resistance they maintained against the Augustinian 'innovations'. They sincerely believed that they had the tradition of the Church, which had been shaped in the East, on their side.

Before we face this aspect of the problem, we have to ask the equally important question, How does Gregory's treatise fit the views of his other writings in this respect, and what is his position with regard to the earlier Christian tradition?

In his other works Gregory uses precisely the same formulas as in the treatise. We find in them a great number of characteristic statements about the relationship of grace and virtue. The theory of the divine assistance that man receives in his struggle for perfection, through the cooperation of the Holy Ghost, is expressed

mus (Paderborn 1898) p. 4 and 10 sq. on the doctrine of John Cassian; see also the same author's *Zur Dogmengeschichte des Semipelagianismus* (Münster 1899) p. 49 sq. on Faustus Reiensis and p. 107 sq. on Fulgentius of Ruspe, especially § 4, which deals with the cooperation of grace and free will. Though the Semipelagian authors tried in various ways to avoid the extreme of Pelagius' doctrine of free will, and to a certain extent compromised with Augustine's concept of grace and predestination, they tried equally hard to escape the opposite extreme of Augustine's later theory of predestination and to strike a balance between the two cooperating factors. This striving for balance reminds us strongly of Gregory's general tendency and formulations, and the details of their statements are not less reminiscent of him. The historical relationship of Semipelagianism to the Eastern fathers and to Gregory of Nyssa in particular deserves a new examination in the light of our results.

in various ways. Besides συνεργία and its derivatives, Gregory uses βοήθεια and βοηθεῖν, συμμαχία and συμμαχεῖν, συναγωνίζεσθαι, προσθήκη χαρισμάτων, συνάπτεσθαι, συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι, etc. But they all convey the same meaning, and the variation only shows that the idea has not yet become so rigidified that only one term is admissible. There is, however, a growing tendency in this direction in a passage that I take from Gregory's refutation of Eunomius' confession of faith (the former so-called second book *Contra Eunomium*, which in my edition is printed as a separate work at the end of the three books of the *Antirrheticus contra Eunomium*, vol. II, 296-389).

Eunomius had said of the Holy Ghost ὅτι τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ὑποφωνεῖ [1]. Gregory takes exception to this term, or rather he attacks it as blasphemous. He points out that this word is a metaphor taken from the ἀγών in athletic games. Eunomius' use of it is understandable, because he was thinking of the ἀγών of man's moral virtue in terms of the γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες of the Greeks, which could be seen in any of the big cities [2]. The word ὑποφωνεῖν designates the loud acclamation of the crowd, by which the partisans of either side encouraged and urged on their favorites. Gregory is indignant that the action of the Holy Ghost should be likened to this vulgar and ineffectual cheering and applauding. According to Eunomius, he says, the Spirit, through this ὑποφώνησις, does not 'cooperate' (συνεργεῖ μὲν οὐδὲν) in winning the victory (for it neither takes part as an ally in the fight, nor does it infuse the strength needed for it), but simply 'wishes' that its favorite may not come in second [3]. Here Gregory is obviously measuring the inadequate

[1] *Contra Eunomium* v. II 387, 7 Jaeger (*P.G.* XLV 569 A).
[2] *Loc. cit.* 387, 8-16.
[3] *Loc. cit.* 387, 26-28.

terminology of Eunomius' doctrine of the Holy Ghost by the standard of the established terms of his own school (συνεργεῖ, συναγωνίζεται, and a little farther on ἐνισχύει, διανέμει τὰ χαρίσματα) [1]. This is the clearest indication that 'cooperation' (συνεργία) had become the recognized term for the specific function of the Spirit, though without excluding synonyms, and this is precisely what we find in the treatise and in other books of Gregory.

The origin of this theory can be traced farther back. In it, Gregory is in full agreement with Basil's doctrine. In Basil's book *On the Spirit* [2], which marked an epoch in the development of the theological doctrine of the Holy Ghost, we find a chapter devoted to this aspect of the problem. Basil of course places his principal emphasis on the divinity of the Holy Ghost, which had been questioned by a group of theologians called the Macedonians (so named after their leader Macedonius). But the human and ethical aspect of the life-giving activity of the Spirit is briefly discussed in chapter IX [3]. The terms with which Basil describes the function of the Spirit in the process of man's salvation are exactly the same as those in Gregory's treatise. I do not doubt that it was Basil's contribution to the dogma of the Holy Ghost that later on inspired Gregory's attempt to apply this doctrine more effectively to the practical ascetic education of the brotherhoods he addresses in the treatise.

Basil calls his aim in chapter IX of his book *On the Spirit* an examination of the κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι about the nature of the Spirit, those common ideas we have received, partly from the Scriptures, partly from the un-

[1] *Loc. cit.* 388, 5-6.
[2] *P.G.* XXXII, 68-217.
[3] *P.G.* XXXII, 108-9.

written tradition (ἄγραφος παράδοσις) of the Fathers [1]. He then lists a number of biblical names (προσηγορίαι) for the Spirit, such as Spirit of God, Spirit of Truth proceeding from the Father (ἐκπορεύεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρός), Holy Spirit, Leading Spirit (πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικόν), etc. These predications he expands by applying to them a large number of predicates of theological origin. These are obviously those concepts that he attributes to tradition: intelligible substance (νοερὰ οὐσία), of infinite power, of unlimited extension (μεγέθει ἀπεριόριστον), immeasurable in time, bounteous of the goods (ἄφθονον . . . καλῶν) it possesses, so that everything that is in need of sanctification turns to it [2]. Basil calls the Spirit the cause of the sanctification of man, for which everything that lives in accordance with virtue strives (οὗ πάντα ἐφίεται τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῶντα) [3]. All things are fertilized or 'irrigated' by its breath (ἐπίπνοια) and receive the assistance (βοηθούμενα) of the Spirit in their effort to realize their specific and natural end (τὸ οἰκεῖον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τέλος = Plato's and Aristotle's definition of virtue). But though the Spirit makes everything else perfect and brings it to its proper fulfillment, it lacks nothing itself (in this respect it differs from Plato's ἔρως). All these philosophical concepts mark the Spirit as the leading force in the process of man's ethical perfection [4]. It is therefore only natural that Gregory, in his increasing concentration on this problem, should have turned to these speculations of Basil and transferred them to the practice of the ascetic life. This explains the fact that we observe in Gregory's ascetic books a frequent use of terms describing

[1] *P.G.* XXXII, 108 A.
[2] *P.G.* XXXII, 108 B.
[3] οὗ πάντα ἐφίεται was the Platonic definition of the *summum bonum*, quoted and accepted by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* lib. I init.
[4] *P.G.* XXXII, 108 B-C.

the assistance of the Holy Ghost in man's effort to attain greater perfection. The basic scheme of his theory of perfection is the Platonic 'imitation of God' [1]. But the Christian faith (so Gregory seems to think) has added to the classical conception of this process of ethical improvement and progress (προκοπή) the all-important factor of divine grace, which is the assistance given by the Spirit to those who try hard to attain virtue (ἀρετή) by their moral efforts (πόνοι, ἀγῶνες). The phrases so often repeated in Gregory, that the Spirit is given to them that are worthy (ἄξιοι), and that man is found worthy of the Spirit (καταξιοῦται), have their origin in Basil's doctrine as stated in that important chapter IX of *On the Spirit*, where the Spirit is called μεθεκτὸν τοῖς ἀξίοις ('solis iis qui digni sunt communicabilis') [2]. To all who are able to participate in it (ἑκάστῳ τῶν δεκτικῶν) it gives its grace sufficiently and wholly, and they have the fruition of it (ἀπολαύει) to the limit of their nature's capacity (not, of course, to the limit of the power of the Spirit itself) [3].

The nearness of the Spirit to the soul is not achieved by local approach (προσεγγισμός) but by the separation (χωρισμός) of the soul from the passions (πάθη), which have alienated it from its natural close relationship to God (οἰκειότης). The original beauty (τὸ ἐκ φύσεως κάλλος) of the soul is restored to it when it regains its old form (ἀρχαία μορφή) through purity (καθαρότης). This is the only way of approach to the Spirit (προσεγγίσαι). All of Gregory's characteristic terms have their origin here, including such words as ἀνάβασις, χειραγωγία τῶν ἀσθενούντων, τελείωσις τῶν προκοπτόντων, ἔλλαμψις (*illu-*

[1] See *De prof. Chr.* 136, 6 sq. There, as in Philo and Clement of Alexandria, the Platonic 'imitation of God' is used as a definition of religion or Christianity (cf. supra p. 28).

[2] *P.G.* XXXII, 108 C.

[3] *P.G.* XXXII, 109 A.

minatio), ἀτελεύτητος εὐφροσύνη, ἐν θεῷ διαμονή, etc. [1]. They all depict the ascent of the soul to God by way of assimilation to Him. The supreme goal of human appetition (τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν ὀρεκτῶν) according to Basil is 'to become God' (θεὸν γενέσθαι, *deificatio*, ch. IX *fin.*), a bold phrase that reminds one of Aristotle's famous definition of man's goal: ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν 'to live the eternal life so far as is possible for a human being' [2].

When we look back from this point to the beginnings of systematic theology in the Alexandrian school, it is evident that the Cappadocians were not the first to apply the term 'cooperation' (συνεργία) to the relationship of the divine and the human in the process of man's perfection. The problem as such is much older and is discussed in the works of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, though not with the same intensity and frequency that we observe in Gregory of Nyssa. This ever-increasing *practical* interest in the question shows that the time was not far off when it would become the focus for the theological interpretation of Christianity, as it did in St. Augustine. But when we compare Gregory and Basil with Clement of Alexandria, we notice a significant difference in their use of the term 'cooperation', and this requires an explanation. Clement seems to have been the first Christian writer to use the word συνεργία and its derivatives (συνεργός, συνεργεῖν) in a well-defined terminological fashion. But it is astonishing to note that he never speaks of the 'cooperation of the Spirit' (or of God or Christ) as Gregory does. On the contrary, the one who is said to cooperate is man, who, when he feels that the grace of God is given him, seizes the opportunity to yield to it.

[1] *P.G.* XXXII, 109 B.
[2] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* X 7, 1177 b 33.

It is easy to see that a definite idea underlies this interpretation. It is formulated most clearly in Clem. Al. III 36, 10-11 (Stählin). There he writes that as the patient must willingly and intelligently cooperate (συνεργεῖν) with the medical treatment the physician gives him, so man must cooperate with God for the attainment of *gnosis* and salvation. Similarly, III 35, 1 (Stählin), the 'gnostic' is said to cooperate in becoming free from sin (ἄπτωτος), but God gives the *gnosis*. In III 44, 3 the gnostic is called the 'disciple' of God; God teaches him (cf. 44, 1), but the pupil cooperates with the teacher, just as in III 36, 11 the patient cooperates with the doctor. In the same sense the earth cooperates with the farmer who sows the seed in the furrow (συνεργεῖ καὶ ἡ γῆ γόνιμος ὑπάρχουσα πρὸς τὴν σπερμάτων καταβολήν). This classical analogy of the process of education and learning makes it manifest that man is to the process of *gnosis* what the soil is to the seed of the farmer, a merely cooperative factor. *Gnosis* is the divine seed, and life springs from it, not from man. That Clement is using συνεργία with full consciousness as a theological term in all these passages is proved by another statement (III 102, 6 sq. Stählin) in which he gives a definition of συνεργία by way of distinguishing it from the related concept of συναίτιον. συναίτιον we call a thing that produces an effect along with something else that by itself (κατ' ἰδίαν) would not be able to achieve the effect. συνεργόν, however, is a thing unable in itself to produce an effect but which, when added to something that *is* able to produce one, makes the effect better and stronger (σφοδρότερον).

If this is the prevailing view of Clement of Alexandria, it should not be overlooked that he contains a few passages that do not seem to conform to this concept of man's cooperation with the divine initiative. In III 36, 1,

for instance, he states that God lends a helping hand (συλλαμβάνει) to the man who is worthy of His grace, and the same is true in 36, 8, where a distinction is made between ordinary men and the 'worthy': the former God only admonishes, but to the latter, who have become worthy by their own efforts (ἐξ ἑαυτῶν), he lends his helping hand (συλλαμβανόμενος, cf. also II 517, 24 τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῖς συλλαμβανούσης) But it will be observed that Clement here uses another word (συλλαμβάνειν), which must have seemed to him particularly fitted to connote the help granted by God to man because it was used in this sense in Greek poetic and religious tradition, whereas he took συνεργεῖν from the sphere of practical life (medicine, agriculture, pedagogy). I have found only one passage in which he uses συλλαμβάνειν as synonymous with συνεργεῖν (II 126, 24 sq.), but none in which συνεργεῖν is used of divine cooperation.

Thus our result is that Gregory's use of the term 'synergy' is opposed to that of the theological tradition from which it must have sprung, the gnostic theology of perfection of Clement of Alexandria. The reason for this full swing to the opposite is clearly the strict ascetic conception of self-perfection, which in the age of Basil and Gregory had developed a different religious feeling about man's own responsibility for his improvement. Notwithstanding the full recognition of the fact that man cannot be saved by his own efforts alone without the redeeming power of the salvation worked by the Incarnation and suffering of Jesus Christ and by the grace of the Holy Spirit, the ethical zeal and earnestness of ascetic practice seemed to demand a new formulation of the relation of works to grace. But it is due (as to a συναίτιον) to the influence of the Greek ideals of *areté*, *paideia*, and *askēsis*, which are supposed

to shape man's whole life, that this new formulation was made by the Cappadocian fathers and their followers in a form so different from Clement's passive gnostic 'illumination' and in a way calculated to strike a perfect balance and avoid extremes.

I have compared and contrasted Gregory's concept of synergy with that of Clement of Alexandria principally to define Gregory's theory with greater precision. But at the same time it has become clear that, in spite of the different sense in which both thinkers use the word 'synergy', there is nevertheless a connection between them; and this raises the question of the tradition in which Gregory of Nyssa stands with his ideas about divine grace and human freedom. For the importance he attributes to the factor of man's own effort in the process of salvation and the role he assigns to divine assistance make it clear that the problem with which he is fundamentally concerned throughout the treatise, as in his other ascetic works, is the freedom of the human will. His whole theory of man's perfection as the goal of human life and his pedagogical interpretation of the meaning of *askēsis* are based upon the assumption that man is free to choose either the good or the evil, and that this is his god-given nature.

Now this is precisely the problem to which Clement's successor in the Alexandrian school, Origen, had given prominence in his theology, and it is obvious that Origen's influence on Gregory has been overwhelmingly strong in this as in other respects. Gregory's ascetic theology is a direct outgrowth of Origen's thought, as is evident from the whole and from innumerable details. Indeed, how could it be otherwise, since Origen was not only the father of Christian theology in general but was the first to give the entire complex of the ascetic life a philosophical treatment? To Origen must be traced

Gregory's ideas about man's perfection and assimilation to God, about the freedom of human will, about the Christian life as a ceaseless struggle for the crown of highest virtue, i.e. true spirituality. Gregory's theory of perfection, which defines it as the liberation of man's soul from the fetters of the body and from the entire world of sense perception, which is the source of the passions (πάθη); his conception of the gradual progress of the ἀσκητής along this road as an ascent from stage to stage, not as a sudden act of conversion but as a conversion in the original Platonic sense of the word; and his comparison of this process with that of the organic growth of the body, from which it is differentiated, however, by the role that free deliberation and choice (προαίρεσις) and conscious effort and struggle play in it—all this is the application of Origen's philosophy to the great task that history had set Basil's and Gregory's generation, that of establishing a theological doctrine and ideal for the monastic movement of their time. They found it in Origen, and they discovered that, although the great Alexandrian had not himself seen monasticism a reality in the life of the Church, he had in his thought anticipated the ascetic ideal from his personal religious experience.

It has been rightly said by a scholar who two decades ago approached Origen from the point of view of his ideal of perfection, that nineteenth century scholarship arrived at a onesided view of his achievement because it saw in him only the author of the *De principiis*, the *Contra Celsum*, and the commentary on the Gospel of St. John, i.e. the speculative thinker and father of dogmatic theology [1]. It is evident from the influence

[1] Walter Völker, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes* (Tübingen 1931). The book is part of a series of monographs in which Völker has treated various important stages in the

that Origen exercised on the ascetic tradition of the centuries following his own, beginning with the Cappadocian school, that he contributed to an incalculable degree to the development of the religious life and to the formulation of the theological consciousness of later monasticism. Gregory of Nyssa is an even more important witness for this effect of Origen's thought than is Basil himself, the founder and leader of the monastic settlements in Asia Minor, because Basil, as we pointed out before, was concerned more with the organization of monastic life and its details than with the philosophical interpretation of the ascetic ideal. This part of the task fell to Gregory, and it was for this reason that he felt the need of going back to Origen's ascetic doctrine. In it he found not only an elaborate set of theological ideas but ideas that had sprung from the fervent religious life of an *anima naturaliter ascetica.* Though not living in a monastic community, none of which existed in the Church at his time, but leading the life of a scholar, Origen had conceived the most profound theory of asceticism that had as yet appeared, by coupling the ascetic and the spiritual (pneumatic) ideal of man. In his hands, the ascetic life took on the form of a Christian *paideia*; it became the philosophy of the spiritual élite of the Christian Church. Origen did not articulate all these ideas as a coherent body of doctrine in a single work, but scattered them through-

historical evolution of the Alexandrian (Christian and Jewish) doctrine of perfection. He has rightly seen the decisive importance of this concept for the rise of the ascetic ideal and its realization in later monasticism. See also his monographs *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Philo von Alexandrien,* 1938, and *Die Vollkommenheitslehre des Clemens Alexandrinus in ihren geschichtlichen Zusammenhängen,* in *Theol. Zeitschrift* hrsg. v. d. theol. Fakultät d. Univ. Basel 1947 p. 15-40. The book on *Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker,* which the author has promised as a continuation of these studies, has not yet appeared.

out his works. His only systematic book, the *De principiis*, was given over to dogmatic questions, although he included in it (from book III on) his theory of the freedom of the human will. But of greater importance for Gregory's purpose were the occasional remarks Origen had made on the subject in his homilies and especially in his exegetic works. Almost all the philosophical work of this great thinker took the form of biblical exegesis, contained in his large commentaries, which in Gregory's time were available to only a few learned men in a few libraries in the largest cities. Out of the scattered passages in Origen's works dealing with questions of the ascetic life, Gregory of Nyssa integrated an ascetic theology. His earlier works *In Psalmos*, the *Vita Moysis*, and *In Ecclesiasten* are similar to those of Origen: while not strictly exegetic in the sense of being continuous commentaries on biblical books, they are nevertheless discussions of important passages of the Scriptures.

The treatise *De instituto Christiano*, as Gregory tells us in the *propositio* of this book, though it employs biblical testimonia throughout and contains interpretations of many scriptural passages, tries to put together out of this disparate material a complete picture of the ascetic life, the φιλόσοφος βίος. In its details it is based on Origen's ideas, but as a whole it offers a much more rounded and effective introduction to the ascetic ideal. No wonder, therefore, that is seems to have had a deeper influence than either Origen's voluminous commentaries or Gregory's own earlier works in which the same ideas appear in a more diffused and unconcentrated form. Needless to say, the book is free from the more eccentric peculiarities of Origen's dogmatic theology. It is the work of a man who feels the same deep admiration for Origen that Basil and Gregory

Nazianzen must have felt in presenting in their *Philocalia* an anthology of Origen's philosophic thought. But Gregory tries to 'preserve' and thereby to do justice to Origen's thought by giving his ascetic theology the new foundation of the Nicene faith; and even this Nicene faith is presented in the treatise with the modifications and additions of the recent Council of Constantinople (381) concerning the divinity of the Holy Spirit. I must postpone to a separate study, which I am preparing, the demonstration of how in this treatise Gregory applies the Nicene creed, and its reformulated third article in particular, to the problem of the ascetic life. Here it may be enough to state briefly that the Holy Spirit is, of the three hypostases of the divine Being, that with which the process of sanctification in every individual is most immediately and actively concerned. Gregory's interest in the dogmatic problem of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, attested by his having previously devoted several special books to this subject, now reveals its practical aspect in this treatise on the ascetic life, in which he shows how the divine Spirit assists the efforts of man to achieve the goal of spiritual perfection.

But there is in Gregory's treatise a problem that Origen's picture of the ascetic piety of the true gnostic does not include, and this is for Gregory the most actual issue: the problem of how ascetics who have severed all ties connecting them with the world should *live together* in a new form of religious community. After establishing in the first half of the book the goal (σκοπός) of the 'philosophic life', in the second half Gregory turns to the specific problem of monasticism [1]. The gnostic

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 41-66, 13 forms the first part of the book (on the σκοπὸς τοῦ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν βίου); the second part (66, 14-fin.) is concerned with the question of how the ascetics ought

ideal of perfection had been in the first place the personal concern of a chosen few. With the rise of monastic communities a new element entered the field of mystic-ascetic theology, the problem of human community and common life. There was of course much in the older tradition of Christian congregations that was of direct importance for this problem. Basil in his *Rules* goes so far as to say that the monastic ideal was nothing but a return to the early Christian way of life as portrayed in the Acts of the Apostles [1]. This had indeed anticipated many features of the later ascetic communities. Nevertheless, after the extensive changes that the Christian Church had undergone in the meantime, the establishment of monastic communities required a new code of conduct. In his treatise, therefore, Gregory gives this problem his fullest attention; and the *paideia* of the perfect Christian 'philosopher' that he outlines in it would not be complete without the social education that makes him a member of that perfect spiritual community, the monastery.

The problem of Christian community life, which can be traced back to the Acts and to the Epistles of St. Paul, has many features in common with the oldest Greek poetry, which reflects the social crises and issues of the early Greek polis. The same questions arise here as there, and similar ideas spring from parallel situations. One of the earliest Christian discussions of these questions is found in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. It is no wonder that the great chapter 13 of that Epistle, the praise of *agapé* as the supreme Christian virtue, which can solve all problems, is quoted almost

to lead their common life together (ὅπως χρὴ συνεῖναι τοὺς τοιούτους ἀλλήλοις).

[1] *Regulae fus. tract.*, *P.G.* XXXII, 348 A, where Basil refers to Acts 2, 44 and 4, 32.

in its entirety in Gregory's treatise [1]. The apostolic spirit of *agapé* alone can bring about the realization of true brotherhood in the new monastic communities. The matter of monastic discipline, which in later centuries became much more rigorous, is touched on only lightly [2]. This becomes especially obvious when we compare what Gregory says on this point with the later retractations of his treatise (Macarius) that we shall discuss in a later chapter (p. 145 sq.). On the whole these later retractations do not change much of Gregory's ideas, but they find it necessary to expand much more on disciplinary matters and to provide more drastic punishments for those who transgress the rules. We have already observed that they also change the terminology employed for differences of rank among monks. In Gregory's treatise this terminology is still rather vague, as in the *Rules* of St. Basil; whereas in the spurious ascetic treatises attributed to Basil the more rigidified terminology of a later age is employed. The problem of equality among the brethren is raised, but it seems to offer no serious difficulty. The later retractations of Gregory's treatise seem to reflect much more serious frictions on this point within the monasteries. Gregory tries to apply his humane and pedagogical spirit to the mutual relationship of the superiors and the brethren as well. Superiors should not regard themselves as masters and despots but as humble servants of their flock. They should educate, admonish, and guide those for whose souls they are responsible to God. They should

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 59, 18 sq. Even in St. Paul's discussion of the problem of Christian community life we find a reference to the classical Greek ideal of ὁμόνοια. On the close relationship of the early Greek concept of *areté* to the social community of the *polis*, see my *Paideia* v. I, Book I, chapters 1, 5 section 3, 6; Book II, chapter 3.

[2] *De inst. Chr.* 69, 11 sq.

give their brethren the individual treatment their different characters require, as a doctor should treat his patients.

The leading idea of this second part of the treatise is that the whole life of the brethren should be one of service. This idea should guide every one of them, but most of all those to whom God has entrusted the souls of the entire brotherhood[1]. The very name 'brotherhood' (ἀδελφότης, *fraternitas*), which came into use at that time as the most significant designation of the social spirit of the new communities, indicates that idea of mutual service. With it goes the commandment of humility both in their inner life and in their dealings with each other. There ought to be among them no emphasis on what is each one's own merit or achievement or possession or right. Their complete surrender to Christ and their renunciation of the world is symbolized by the abandonment of all personal property. When St. Macrina died, Gregory asked the nuns who had been with her whether there was any piece of linen among his sister's effects in which to wrap her dead body for burial, but there was none[2]. So in the treatise he says that no one ought to have more than the one shirt he wears on his body[3]. The brethren should be clad in the garment of the Christian virtues. But no one ought to boast of his progress, if there are differences in spiritual growth between them. They should help one another rather than seek personal glory from men for their sanctity[4]. Here a true difficulty must have arisen in the common life of the brethren, since it could not be the aim of their community merely to maintain an external

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 69, 6-10.
[2] *Vita Macr.* 402, 19 sq.
[3] *De inst. Chr.* 67, 7 sq. κεκτῆσθαι δὲ οὐδὲν χρὴ ἢ νομίζειν ἴδιον.
[4] *De inst. Chr.* 68, 4 sq.

equality, but for each member to strive ardently for perfection and for ever greater gifts of the Spirit. Their complete devotion to this task had to be balanced by a simultaneous elimination of haughtiness and pride, which might make one more advanced along the path to perfection tend to look down on his brethren still struggling on its lower stages. Pride was indeed the greatest sin in these communities, and what distinguished them from the secular community of the ancient polis with which we have compared them was precisely this absence of any striving for public recognition and distinction (δόξα), which in the Greek tradition had been the social equivalent of civic virtue (ἀρετή) [1]. There is no ἀξίωμα in this sense in the monastic community. The only personal ἀξία of which Gregory speaks in the treatise is that which he mentions in connection with the reception of the Holy Spirit. This is the only criterion of perfection that he recognizes: man's worthiness (ἄξιον εἶναι) to receive the gifts of the Spirit. But this worthiness is not determined by what people say or think of a man. It is left to the Spirit to decide whose soul is worthy of its abode.

This brief discussion of the contents of the treatise will be enough to serve as a first introduction to its ideas and the problems they present. A more exhaustive analysis and comparison with Gregory's other ascetic works and with Origen's ideas on the subject of ascetic theology would require a line-by-line commentary on the text. We are now in a position to specify the place of the treatise among Gregory's other ascetic writings, and this will be done in the next chapter. We shall then have to consider the historical effect of this work on the ascetic tradition of the following century.

[1] See *Paideia* v. I[2] p. 8 sq.

CHAPTER SIX

THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF THE TREATISE AND ITS CHRONOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE OTHER ASCETIC WORKS OF GREGORY

In the previous chapter we have examined the theology of the treatise in its relationship to the other works of Gregory and found it most closely akin to the ideas of those works in which he deals with the same subject, the ascetic life and the problem of Christian perfection and virtue. These are in particular the treatises *In Psalmos*, *In Cantica Canticorum*, the *Vita Moysis*, the *Vita Macrinae*, the protreptic book *De virginitate*, and the two treatises *De professione Christiana* and *De perfectione*.

The agreement of the philosophy of the treatise with these works is a perfect one. In all these books Gregory shows the same basic thoughts, and they are integrated in the same Platonic-Christian pattern. There is indeed hardly a thought in the treatise that cannot be proved to be characteristic of Gregory of Nyssa. The only question that remains is whether the author *repeats* these ideas in the treatise *after* having set them forth so vigorously and completely in those larger works, or whether the treatise anticipates their contents. But this question is now answered by Gregory himself in the original text of the work. In the complete version he tells the reader that the monks whom he addresses in this work had asked him to write for them a protreptic

λόγος in which he would lay down his ideas on the goal of the 'philosophic life', the road by which it is attained, and the way in which superiors should direct the 'philosophic chorus', including an instruction on the exercises (πόνοι) by which their souls might become worthy to receive the Spirit. This is in fact a presice description of the contents of the book [1]. After giving this brief outline, Gregory declares in a charmingly personal manner that he will comply with their request in the present work [2]. He feels that so much honest eagerness deserves serious consideration, especially since he knows that their faith is the right one—i.e., based firmly on the theological conviction of the Cappadocian school: one substance, three hypostases [3]. And he goes on (p. 42, 17): 'So I am writing (γράφομεν) for you some small seeds of instruction (βραχέα τὰ σπέρματα τῆς διδασκαλίας), selecting them from the writings previously given me by the Spirit (ἀπὸ τῶν προδωρηθέντων ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γραφῶν ἐκλεγόμενοι), but also making use in many passages of the very words of the Scriptures as proof of what I say and for the clarification of my own view about it (καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ πολλαχοῦ τὰ τῆς γραφῆς ῥήματα κατὰ τὴν χρείαν τιθέντες εἰς πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων καὶ εἰς φανέρωσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπολήψεως).[4]

This statement is of great importance because it sheds much light on Gregory's intention and procedure in writing the treatise. The passage shows that we did not know before: that in this little work the author

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 41, 10-24. Speaking in technical terms, these lines contain the *propositio* of the treatise. Probably the monks had really asked for a book that would answer all these questions. At any rate it was a very good idea of Gregory's to put the *propositio* into their mouths, thus avoiding an otherwise pedantic announcement of the plan of his work.

[2] *Op. cit.* 41, 24-42, 5.

[3] *Op. cit.* 42, 5-10.

[4] *Op. cit.* 42, 17-43, 3.

does not mean to present original new ideas on the ascetic life, but to develop his old ideas in a new form suited to a definite purpose. It must be admitted that he has succeeded in doing so, and that in this treatise he has arranged his thoughts on the subject in a most effective way. In the other works in which he had previously set them forth, especially in the exegetic works such as the *In Psalmos* and *In Cantica,* but also in the *Vita Moysis,* these ideas were embedded in the context of his interpretation of the Scriptures and were therefore spread thinly over a much longer area. But in the treatise they appear in concentrated form and are inculcated with a view to teaching the adepts of the ascetic ideal the basic principles on which their life should be founded. Gregory tells us in so many words that he has *selected* (ἐκλεγόμενοι) the thought of the treatise from his former works. This places the treatise *after* the works with which we have found it most in agreement and definitely characterizes it as a late product of the writer.

The text of the important sentence (p. 42, 17) as it reads in the manuscript tradition is not correct. The participle προδωρηθέντων is either masculine or neuter, whereas the noun γραφῶν to which it is related is feminine. It would of course show a lack of philological method if we tried to correct the participle to προδωρηθεισῶν in order to make it agree with γραφῶν. The word that is really corrupt is the feminine noun γραφῶν, which in Gregory's language never connotes the written works of an author but only the Scriptures. But Gregory is here speaking of himself. γραφῶν seems to have crept into its place because the scribe of the archetype had taken a quick look at the following line, in which the words τὰ τῆς γραφῆς ῥήματα (meaning the Scriptures) occur, and, having this still in mind, became confused and wrote

γραφῶν instead of the genitive plural that was actually in his source. It is not too difficult to supply the word that was replaced by γραφῶν. The verb προδωρηθέντων suggests it unfailingly to the attentive reader of the treatise, since δωρεά and δωρεῖσθαι are used frequently in it and in Gregory's other works as technical terms for the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Since we read in this passage ἀπὸ τῶν προδωρηθέντων ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος . . . ὧν, it is evident that Gregory is speaking of his former works at the *fruits* previously given him by the Spirit. The treatise and Gregory's other works point out over and over again that the Spirit, when it is given to man, bears all kinds of fruits, and the verb ἐκλεγόμενοι fits nicely the metaphor that we can thus restore with confidence: ἀπὸ τῶν προδωρηθέντων ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καρπῶν ἐκλεγόμενοι [1].

This then is the relationship of the treatise to Gregory's former works as defined by the author himself. And at the same time the question of when it was written is answered once and for all: it was composed after the works to which we have found it most akin, the *De virginitate*, the *In Psalmos*, the *In Cantica*, and the *Vita Moysis*. The latter, as Gregory himself tells us, is a work of his old age (in it he speaks of his πολιά, his white hair), and as such it has been dated about the

[1] The fruits of the Spirit are as manifold as are the gifts (χαρίσματα) that it bestows on men; see I Cor. 12, 7-12. The logical antithesis is that of Gregory's own thoughts and the testimonia of the Scriptures: he has 'selected seeds of teaching' from his former works, but in many places also (καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ πολλαχοῦ . . .) has utilized the very words of the Scriptures to prove what he has said. The plural γράφομεν, or τῶν προδωρηθέντων ἡμῖν ('given me before'), or εἰς φανέρωσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας ('my') περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπολήψεως refers to the author's person throughout, this being Gregory's normal manner of speaking of himself. See p. 119 n. 1 for another instance of this plural.

year 390 [1]. Gregory was then about sixty years of age. We cannot trace his life beyond the middle of the 390's, so that it seems most likely that the treatise was composed during the last few years of his life, after 390.

Gregory's words about the biblical passages he has used in the presentation of his own thought (καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ πολλαχοῦ τὰ τῆς γραφῆς ῥήματα κατὰ τὴν χρείαν τιθέντες εἰς πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων) are another interesting hint as to his intention in writing the treatise. They are to prove his ideas about the perfect life and to communicate to the reader his interpretation (ὑπόληψις, 'Auffassung') of Scripture (αὐτὴν = γραφήν), i.e. his opinion of the passages that he quotes as proof. Apparently Gregory feels that there is a great difference between convincing an audience of people who possess the Greek *paideia* and teaching a group of ascetics. The latter have abandoned the world, and that means that they have given up not only their material possessions, their relatives and friends, but also their secular intellectual life and 'spiritual values'. They are reading the Scriptures and works that help them to understand them. Thus Gregory cannot speak to them in his usual Platonic terms, or, if he does, he must prove that it is just another way of saying what is 'in the book'. Otherwise they might say that he is repudiating the 'grace from above' and is instead shaping, with the help of exoteric philosophy (τοῖς ἔξωθεν λογισμοῖς), a kind of bastard pattern of religion (τύπους εὐσεβείας), which he then proceeds to read into the Scriptures [2]. In this Gregory follows the example his brother had given in the *Rules*.

[1] *Vita Moysis*, *P.G.* XLIV 300 B εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ τοσούτων ψυχῶν ἐν πατέρων τάξει προτεταγμένοι (Gregory is speaking of himself) πρέπειν οἰόμεθα τῇ πολιᾷ ταύτῃ νεότητος σωφρονούσης ἐπίταγμα δέχεσθαι (i.e. to fulfill the desire of the addressee that he should write a ὑποθήκη εἰς τὸν τέλειον βίον) . . .

[2] *De inst. Chr.* 43, 3.

In his *De fide* Basil had spoken explicitly of the necessity of giving more biblical evidence, and even of using a more biblical language in his ascetic treatises than in his dogmatic works, which were of course of a more philosophical character [1]. This caution makes it all the more evident that Basil and Gregory were fully conscious of two heterogeneous elements of their thought, which they tried to bring into congruency with each other: the Greek philosophic tradition, which was their natural form of self-expression, and the Bible, which was the source of their religious faith. It is indeed remarkable how eager Gregory is throughout his treatise to accumulate all the biblical evidence at his disposal, in order to prove that his emphasis on man's *areté* and striving for 'perfection', on the natural *erōs* of man for the good and his labors and efforts to liberate his 'true nature' from the foreign tyranny of the passions, is in full accord with the true meaning of the teaching of Christ.

It would be interesting to know whether Gregory, when he wrote this section of his proem, had in mind a real suspicion harbored by the monks, for it sounds as if he were speaking in self-defense. These were the years of growing resistance in monastic communities against 'Origenism' [2]. St. Jerome, who in his earlier

[1] See supra p. 81.

[2] As a matter of fact there can hardly be any doubt as to the existence of such an opposition. It will always remain a strange fact that Gregory of Nyssa was not more seriously affected by the rising tide of the campaign against Origenism, i.e. against the spirit of Neoplatonic philosophy in the Christian Church. The first staunch champions of this new traditionalism were Methodius of Olympus and Epiphanius of Salamis, the latter of whom in his anti-heretic work the *Panarion* included a long chapter about Origen (ch. 64). In this he criticized not only individual details but the entire mentality and the principles of a theology that tried to reconcile Christian revelation with philosophical truth on the basis of rational thought.

years had been a great admirer of Origen and had translated many of his books for the Latin world, later took a quite different view of him. Somewhat later a famous disciple of the mystic theology of the Cappadocians, Evagrius Ponticus, who took his surname from the country from which Basil's monastic settlements had spread throughout Asia Minor, was accused of Origenism and declared a heretic. Evagrius, of course, had expanded the Origenistic elements in his writings beyond what Basil had thought feasible; but there may have been a feeling among those to whom *askesis* did not mean 'the philosophic life' that even Gregory of Nyssa himself had given too free a rein to his zeal for Platonic speculation. There seem to have been critics who believed that what he had written previously on

Epiphanius described Origen as 'blinded by Greek *paideia*' (ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας τυφλωθείς, h. 64 c 72, 9). This criticism had spread since the *Panarion* was published late in the 370's, and a reaction of enormous proportions against 'Origenism' was to follow it. When Gregory's treatise was wrftten, after 390 and most probably ca. 395, the so-called first Origenist controversy had already started in Jerusalem. According to Tillemont, Vallarsi, and other earlier scholars, it began in 395. But more recent research has made it certain that the events that led to these heated disputes must be dated back to either 390 (Holl) or 392 at the latest (Jülicher); see K. Holl, *Die Zeitfolge des ersten origenistischen Streits* (*Ber. Berlin Akad. phil.-hist. Kl.* 1916 p. 226 sq.) and ibid. p. 256 sq. Adolf Jülicher, *Bemerkungen zu d. Abh. d. Hrn. Holl: Die Zeitfolge* etc. But though Origen's theology *as a system* was liquidated in the course of this reaction, there was much in it that survived. One thing that did was the method of pneumatic-allegorical interpretation, which served as an instrument for the spiritualization of the Scriptures, especially of the stories of the Old Testament. Another element that remained alive in the Church was Origen's mystic and ascetic piety and thought. With both these living forces Gregory of Nyssa survived as an authority and as a saint of the Greek Church, though he was not regarded as of equal 'rank' with Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. His alliance with these Origenistic elements caused his later admirers great trouble at times.

the subject of the ascetic life was not based on the Scriptures but taken from Greek philosophical tradition, which he had compared with the role the 'wisdom of the Egyptians' played in the life of Moses [1]. This would explain why in his late treatise he puts a much stronger emphasis on biblical evidence than he had done before, though without sacrificing any of his philosophical ideas. There can be no doubt, as we have seen, that the conceptual framework of the treatise is the same as that of his former works on the ascetic life [2]. Nevertheless in his new treatment of the question there is this express insistence on biblical authority, and it is quite in harmony with the fact that he quotes Scripture at every turn, at times cumulating biblical evidence almost triumphantly in order to prove that his theology is not dragging 'thought-patterns' of secular philosophy into the *adyton* of the Christian religion.

That Gregory really intended this great emphasis on Scripture as a change of method becomes evident when we compare it with his procedure in his other ascetic works. The earliest of them is his *De virginitate.* In going through the biblical testimonia in Cavarnos' edition we are astonished at the scarcity of direct references to the Scriptures in a work of this size. But we need not depend for this on our subjective impression, since Gregory himself states the reason for this phenomenon in chapter 12 of the work. After defining the goal (σκοπός) of the ascetic life (cf. the end of chapter 11, p. 299, 5) as the contemplation of God, he begins the next chapter by asking whether a method of guiding us to this goal can be found. He then continues: 'Now the divine Scriptures are filled with this guidance, and the

[1] *Vita Moysis* 329 A sq.; 336 D sq.

[2] See the previous examination of the theology of the treatise, p. 75 sq.

lives of the saints are as a light to those who pursue their pilgrimage in accordance with the will of God (τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν πορευομένοις).' These words and concepts recur later in the proem of the treatise Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν σκοποῦ. But the difference lies in the emphasis, for the biblical testimonia that Gregory stresses later in the treatise are mentioned in the *De virginitate* only by way of *praeteritio* to be dismissed at once as obvious and easily accessible to every reader of the Old and New Testaments. 'But here,' he says, 'are my own thoughts about these things (ὅσα δ' ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπινοήσαιμεν . . . ταῦτά ἐστιν), which conform with the divine Words.' Indeed, what follows this announcement is all mere philosophy, taking as point of departure Gregory's theory of the nature of man and proceeding along the line of strictly dialectical argumentation. This procedure is the best commentary on Gregory's words, in which he puts the stress primarily on his own thoughts and takes their agreement with Scripture for granted. If at this point we look once more at the foreword of the treatise, it appears the exact reversal of his former approach in the *De virginitate*. He had composed that book 'at the command' of Basil, whom he reverently calls 'my bishop and master' [1]. It is only natural for an ambitious young man to lay some emphasis on the originality of his theorizing. In the treatise the ideas are the same, so that he can take them over from his earlier works, as he himself admits; but the accent now lies on the orthodoxy of these ideas [2]. Only about a quarter of a century had elapsed since he had set out on his way, and during these years he himself had changed very little. But the times had changed, and whereas we see him advancing with firm self-confidence, though with

[1] *De virg.* p. 249, 4.
[2] *De inst. Chr.* 43, 3-7.

due modesty, in the *De virginitate,* in his last treatise on the ascetic life we find him entrenched and ready for self-defense.

In this last reassertion of his standpoint, it was not only excusable but imperative for him to reiterate his former ideas, even, occasionally, his very words, to avoid falling under the suspicion of having changed his position for tactical reasons. In reality he had not altered it at all, and in order to document this fact he was willing to repeat himself. The fact as such cannot be doubted. Every page in the treatise gives proof of it. After we have demonstrated, in the previous chapter, the substantial unity of his ascetic theology in the treatise and in his other works, all that remains for us now is to show the literal truth of Gregory's words in the proem of the treatise about his having *selected* the contents of the present little book from his former works [1]. Indeed, we are able to prove that not only the general framework of his theological ideas but even the way in which they are phrased in the treatise has been adapted to the earlier statements of his views. Gregory did this more than once in his works. As a teacher he was bound to repeat his basic concepts, and as a theologian and great authority of the Church who had been commended by the Council of Constantinople as a model of the true faith, [2] he had to adopt certain definite formulations and to stick to them later when they were challenged. A striking example of this is to be found in the books *Contra Eunomium.* There he had refuted the ideas of this Arian leader in great detail, but some years after the publication of this work there arose another occasion to turn against the same opponent when Eunomius solemnly made a confession of faith, according to the

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 42, 18 sq.
[2] See C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte,* II p. 28.

custom of the time. Gregory, who had struck before against the main work of his opponent, the *Apologia apologiae*, now published a separate refutation of Eunomius' confession of faith. It is preserved in what used to be printed in earlier editions as the second book *Contra Eunomium*. In my edition it is duly separated from Gregory's *magnum opus* against Eunomius and is added as an appendix at the end of the second volume, since it has been proved to be an independent publication [1]. This is evident from the content, but it is confirmed by the fact that Gregory incorporated into this later and more concentrated statement of his dogma a large part of his earlier work against Eunomius without changing a word [2]. The parallel with the treatise on the ascetic life is obvious. Another example is to be found in the treatise *Quid sit illud: Quando sibi subiecerit omnia*, which embodies the ideas of a similar discussion in the first book against Eunomius. In this case, however, Gregory has not reproduced his own words to the letter but repeats only the arguments, while varying the expression [3].

Classical Greek literature offers numerous examples of such a repeated use of the same arguments by an author. There are the political and forensic speeches of Demosthenes in which he takes over whole pages or selected paragraphs from former orations and puts them together like a mosaic [4]. In the philosophical works of Aristotle we find that he makes extensive use of proofs

[1] See my preface to *Contra Eunomium* vol. II p. xii sq.

[2] The longest of these borrowings in *C. Eun.* is vol. II p. 330, 20-334, 16.

[3] Cf. *C. Eun.* vol. I p. 78, 17-18. That the promise made in this passage was fulfilled later by Gregory in his *In illud: Quando sibi subiecerit omnia* was correctly observed by the editor of this as yet unpublished small work, Fr. J. K. Downing.

[4] See my *Demosthenes*, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press 1938, p. 64, 252, etc.

and arguments previously published in his literary dialogues [1]. Galen is an author whose lost books can be partially reconstructed from some of his later works in which he copies himself [2]. This is how Aristotle introduces a passage borrowed from one of his former dialogues (*Pol.* VII 1, 1323 a 21): 'Since we believe that much of what we have already said in our published works (ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις) about the best life is sufficient for the present purpose, we shall have to use it also on this occasion (καὶ νῦν χρηστέον αὐτοῖς).' There can be no doubt that the following page or pages are taken over from one of his earlier works, as is obvious even from the difference in style. Xenophon's *Agesilaus* shows extensive parallels with his larger historical work, the *Hellenica*. Examples could easily be multiplied.

Gregory's statement in the rediscovered proem of the treatise to the effect that he had selected his arguments in part from his earlier works on the same subject (ἐκλεγόμενοι) is amply illustrated by these facts. This does not diminish the importance of the treatise, since from its later retractations in mediaeval Christian literature we shall be able to show that this, the most compressed formulation of his thought, has had the greatest circulation and exercised the strongest influence of any of his ascetic works.

I shall now give a number of examples of the way in which Gregory carried out his intention of giving in this treatise a selection from the ideas contained in his earlier books. As one would expect, he has not mechanically

[1] See Jacob Bernays, *Die verlorenen Dialoge des Aristoteles* (Berlin 1863) passim, and my *Aristotle* (2d ed., Oxford 1948) p. 246 sq., 275 sq., al.

[2] As an example compare the extensive use Galen makes of his large work (15 books) Περὶ ἀποδείξεως in his later *Synopsis of Hippocrates and Plato*, as I have proved in my *Nemesios von Emesa* (Berlin 1914) p. 16 sq.

epitomized himself but has admirably integrated thoughts scattered through several of his works into a closely knitted whole. If we now reread a work such as the *De virginitate* with the rediscovered treatise in mind, it appears that most of his basic ideas on the ascetic life were there from the beginning. To be sure, the aim of the *De virginitate* is somewhat different, since in it the author undertakes to write an encomium of the ascetic life. The book accordingly contains long sections of mere rhetoric. Take for example the long amplification of the topos on the disadvantages of married life with which he connects a description of the vicissitudes of man's earthly life in general (see chapters 3 and 4). In these sections there are only occasional similarities to the treatise. But we find ourselves on familiar ground as soon as the author touches upon his real theme, the life of 'virginity' (ὁ τῆς παρθενίας βίος), which he calls the link between the human and the divine world. He compares it to the life of the angels (cf. treatise p. 70, 19). He intends to say a little about this life (βραχέα τινὰ περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν . . . προεθυμήθημεν). The treatise echoes these very words in its proem (γράφομεν ὑμῖν βραχέα τὰ σπέρματα τῆς διδασκαλίας, p. 42, 17). As in the *De virginitate* (p. 268, 16) he speaks of the monastery as a 'philosophical chorus' (treatise p. 41, 20 and 69, 11). Both are filled with praise of the monastic life as ὑψηλότερος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων or γηΐνων or ταπεινῶν (*De virg.* 268, 10-18; 269, 9; 271, 19; 291, 5 sq., treatise 87, 3 and passim). Again and again they both recommend τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖν as opposed to indulgence in τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πάθη (*De virg.* 268, 17, cf. treatise 42, 15; 66, 18; 71, 17). The goal (σκοπός) of the ascetic life is καθαρισμὸς τῶν παθῶν, treatise p. 79, 17, cf. *De virg.* 254, 21-24. Both works often speak with contempt of earthly 'goods', πλοῦτος, περιφάνεια, τρυφή, δύναμις, τιμή. He who is led astray

by the temptation to possess these vanities is still ἀπαίδευτος. Used thus this word has come to mean the deception (ἀπάτη or πλάνη) of the senses or passions, whereas the παιδεία of the true ascetic is the ability to discern good and evil.

From these obvious similarities we turn to some of the more specific points of ascetic doctrine. We find in both works the same theory of the chain of virtues and vices and their dependence upon each other. Like Plato, Gregory teaches that there are no individual virtues or vices but only one virtue (and likewise only one wickedness) in man. The theory of the chain is set forth in *De virg.* 273, 1-24: ἔχεται γάρ πως ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον, καὶ ὥπερ ἂν τὸ ἓν παραγένηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καθάπερ ὑπό τινος φυσικῆς ἀνάγκης ἑλκόμενα συνεισέρχεται πάντως, οἷον ἐν ἀλύσει γίνεται· τῆς τε γὰρ ἀρχῆς ἐπισπασθείσης οὐδὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ἡρεμεῖν ἀγκύλας δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον πέρας τῆς ἁλύσεως ἀγκύλη συνεκινήθη τῇ πρώτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἀεὶ καὶ προσεχὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου διὰ τῶν παρακειμένων τῆς κινήσεως προϊούσης· οὕτως ἐμπέπλεκται καὶ συμπέφυκεν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πάθη καὶ δι' ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐπικρατήσαντος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν κακῶν ὁλκὸς τῇ ψυχῇ συνεισέρχεται. Gregory illustrates this theory of the chain by an example (273, 12): καὶ εἰ χρή σοι διαγράψαι τὴν πονηρὰν ταύτην ἅλυσιν, ὑπόθου τινὰ διά τινος ἡδονῆς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν κενοδοξίαν ἡττηθῆναι πάθους· ἀλλὰ τῇ κενοδοξίᾳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ πλείονος ἔφεσις συνηκολούθησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλεονέκτην γενέσθαι, μὴ ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος χειραγωγούσης. εἶτα ἡ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ προέχειν ἐπιθυμία ἢ ὀργὴν ἐξάπτει πρὸς τὸ ὁμότιμον ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὑποχείριον τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον τὸν φθόνον, φθόνου δὲ ἀκόλουθος ἡ ὑπόκρισις γίνεται· ἐκείνης δὲ πικρία, ταύτης ἡ μισανθωπία, τούτων ⟨δὲ⟩ ἁπάντων τὸ τέλος κατάκρισις εἰς γέενναν καὶ σκότος καὶ πῦρ καταλήγουσα. ὁρᾷς τὸν ὁλκὸν τῶν κακῶν, ὅπως ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα τοῦ καθ' ἡδονὴν πάθους ἐξέχεται; With

this compare the following passage of the treatise (p. 77, 15 sq.): περὶ δὲ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς μερῶν, ποῖον δεῖ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεύειν, ποῖον δὲ τούτου δεύτερον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐφεξῆς καθ' ἕκαστον, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. ἀλλήλων γὰρ ἔχονται καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοὺς χρωμένους ἀνάγουσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἁπλότης τῇ ὑπακοῇ παραδίδωσιν, ἡ δὲ ὑπακοὴ τῇ πίστει, αὕτη δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδι, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, κἀκείνη τῇ διακονίᾳ, κἀκείνη τῇ ταπεινότητι· παρὰ δὲ ταύτης ἡ πραότης παραλαμβάνουσα τῇ χαρᾷ προσάγει, ἡ δὲ χαρὰ τῇ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῇ εὐχῇ· καὶ οὕτως ἀλλήλων ἐξηρτημέναι καὶ ἐξαρτήσασαι τὸν ἐχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνάγουσι τοῦ ποθουμένου τὴν κορυφήν, καθάπερ ἀπεναντίον ἡ πονηρία τοὺς ἑαυτῆς φίλους διὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῆς μερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάγει κακίαν. . In the treatise Gregory uses as his example the virtues that lead up (ἀνάγουσι) to the peak of perfection, whereas in the *De virginitate* he uses the vices that lead down (κατάγουσι) to the abyss of extreme wickedness; but both illustrate the theory that virtues as well as vices all depend upon one another. This idea of the chain has had a strong influence on later mystic and ascetic thought, as will be shown in the chapter on the writings of Macarius, where we shall trace the continuity of this tradition. 'Chain' is only another word for the concept of ascent, which in turn leads to the image of the highest peak (κορυφή). In the treatise Gregory substitutes this image for that of the chain found in the *De virginitate*. Accordingly the process is visualized in the treatise not as a ὁλκός but more actively as ἀνάγειν and κατάγειν. But the underlying idea is the same.

There are many other striking parallels between the two works, of which I shall list a few briefly:

	De Virg.	*De inst. Chr.*
ἡ τοῦ βίου πορεία	314, 9	41, 14-15 64, 14
αἱ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀπάταται	278, 22	40, 11-13
ψυχή—φρούριον	289, 18	55, 6 55, 13 75, 12
ἡ τοῦ ὄντως καλοῦ κτῆσις	288, 19	cf. 40, 8; 44, 16
ἡ ψυχὴ (νύμφη) μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου	288, 8	49, 13
χειραγωγεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀόρατον	291, 16	cf. 40, 11 al.
τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια γυμνάζειν πρὸς καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ διάγνωσιν	282, 22 sq.	75, 6
φῶς γίνεσθαι	295, 20	51, 22
οὐράνιος, ὑψηλὴ πολιτεία	296, 10 336, 7	48, 3 61, 21 cf. 86, 4
ἔρως τοῦ καλοῦ	296, 14	40, 10, passim
ὁ προκείμενος σκοπός ...	299, 5, 18	41, 16 passim
ὅτι ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν οὐδὲ συνουσιωμένον (!) τὸ παθητικόν	298, 4-5	40, 7
ὕστερον ἐπεισήχθη τὸ πάθος	298, 8	cf. 44, 1-3; 45, 9
αὐτὸς ἐθελοντὴς ἀπάτῃ παρενεχθείς	298, 17	cf. 44, 1-3
ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν	300, 18	78, 20 79, 1
ἄνθρωπος ἐν παρρησίᾳ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσωπον βλέπων	302, 10	cf. 48, 19-49, 1
ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατάστασις	302, 6	cf. 45, 10

	De virg.	*De inst. Chr.*
συνάφεια πρὸς πνεῦμα, θεόν, φῶς	305, 12	78, 11; 85, 19 50, 5
ἐφέλκεσθαι γεννᾶν θάνατον	305, 9	41, 1-2
ἡδονὴ σωματικὴ παιδοποιΐα θανάτου ἀφορμὴ γίνεται	305, 28	41, 1-2
ἡ τῷ κυρίῳ προσκολληθεῖσα ψυχή	310, 9	50, 10 85, 19-20
ἡ ψυχή—ὁ οὐράνιος νυμφίος	312, 13-21	49, 19 50, 2 56, 18
οὐδεμία κοινωνία φωτὸς καὶ σκότους	312, 24	56, 14 sq.
οὐδεμία κοινωνία ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ	313, 3	56, 15 sq.
ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη	313, 9	68, 9 cf. 46, 17
τὸ βιάζεσθαι ὅπου ἐπαινετὸν τὸ βιάζεσθαι	319, 3	46, 17
ὁ τέλειος οὐκέτι πόνου δεήσεται, ἀλλὰ ἐν πολλῇ ῥᾳστώνῃ τὸ δυσέφικτον κατορθώσει	320, 4-6	63, 14 85, 2 85, 13 75, 20
ὁ ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ ζῆν προελόμενος	333, 15	64, 4 66, 14
ἀκρίβεια τοῦ βίου.....	334, 5	cf. 82, 15; 64, 6

	De Virg.	*De inst. Chr.*
αἱ τοῦ βίου πέδαι, τὸ πεδηθῆναι γάμου δεσμῷ ...	320, 21	43, 14
τῷ θεῷ ζῆν	309, 3	84, 16

The observant reader will notice that in this collection of examples, which could easily be extended, certain characteristic phrases and ideas of the treatise do not occur. They will be found in others of Gregory's earlier works. The *De virginitate*, which he apparently reread before writing the treatise, was separated from it in time by a quarter of a century. His most recent work on the ascetic life (ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίος) had been the *Vita Moysis*, which he composed about 390. Thus it antedated the treatise by only a few years, and it was still fresh in his memory when he wrote the *De instituto Christiano*. Both works deal with the problem of Christian perfection, but whereas the treatise describes it in general terms, the *Vita Moysis* sets up its central figure as a pattern of accomplished virtue. In the last chapter of the *De virginitate* Gregory had done a similar thing. There he was following the ancient type of εἰσαγωγή-literature, which was generally divided into two parts dealing respectively with the art (τέχνη) and the artist (τεχνίτης), as, for example, the *Ars poetica* of Horace, which in its composition follows earlier Hellenistic models [1]. That Gregory, who was a skillful rhetorician, [2] really adopted this literary tradition as his model in the *De virginitate* becomes evident when we remember that he there presents the ascetic life as a τέχνη or δύναμις in the Greek sense of these words (cf. *De virg.* 277, 1 with

[1] See Eduard Norden, *Hermes* 40 (1905) p. 481 sq. on the *Ars Poetica* of Horace and its relation to the εἰσαγωγή-literature.

[2] On Gregory as a rhetorician and his relation to Atticism, see Méridier, *L'influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse*, Paris 1906.

the treatise 70, 6, 10). Consequently his book had to culminate in the ideal picture of the man who embodies the τέχνη. Although the consummate ascetic is portrayed in general terms in the last chapter of the *De virginitate*, Gregory says in the 'introductory letter' (p. 249) that he meant to give this portrait the features of a real person, his brother Basil. Later in the *Vita Moysis* he separated this part of his former introduction to the ascetic life and created a new type of work by writing a guide to the life of *areté* in the form of an ideal portrait of the great lawgiver and spiritual leader of Israel who had led his people safely out of servitude in Egypt through the waters of the Red Sea. The book is divided into two parts, which make the intention of the author perfectly clear: 1) the actual life of Moses and 2) the symbolic interpretation (θεωρία) of the historical reality by way of allegory. In the second part of the work we find a philosophy very similar to that of the treatise. Indeed, it is full of the most striking parallels. It would be easier to show this in a line-by-line commentary, but since this is outside the scope of the present inquiry, we must limit ourselves to giving a brief comparison of those expressions and thoughts that the *Vita Moysis* has in common with the treatise.

The second part of the *Vita* begins (*P.G.* XLIV, 329A) with a discussion of the value of secular culture and learning, a problem that appears also in the proem (p. 43, 5-7) of the treatise. There the author defends himself against the criticism that he is trying to substitute Greek philosophy for the wisdom of the Bible. He maintains his position by proving that his philosophical theology is in full harmony with the Scriptures. Thus he does attribute some value to the combination of Christian religion with the *paideusis* of the outside world, and that is precisely his attitude in the *Vita*

Moysis [1]. The importance that the problem has for Gregory is evident from the fact that he raises the issue at once and returns to it again and again. Perhaps it would not be far from the truth to infer that the entire work serves to defend Gregory's use of Greek philosophy as a basis for theological speculation and to clarify the relationship of the Christian religion to the classical tradition in general [2]. While this may seem strange at first sight, the life and education of Moses lend themselves to a comparison with the position of Christianity within the Hellenistic world of Gregory's time. The allegorical method of interpretation that he inherited from Origen permitted him to use the ancient biblical story as a vehicle for the discussion of actual problems [3]. The wooden box (κιβωτός) in which the infant Moses drifted on the waters of the Nile is interpreted as the composite system of secular learning (ποικίλων μαθημάτων συμπηγνυμένη παίδευσις): it suspends one over water [4]. Gregory distinguishes philosophy from this kind of encyclopaedic learning, which, according to the ancient view, supplies the solid foundation for it [5]. But his criticism of traditio-

[1] See *Vita Moysis*, *P.G.* XLIV, 336 D ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ τῆς ἔξω παιδεύσεως πρὸς συζυγίαν ἡμῶν εἰς τεκνογονίαν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀπόβλητον with the following proofs. At 360 B Gregory goes much farther than in this passage, calling the acquisition of ἡ ἔξωθεν παίδευσις a 'divine commandment'.

[2] Such a defense, which naturally required some caution in those days, seems almost inevitable after the violent attacks made on Origen and the Origenists ('Ωριγενιασταί) by Epiphanius and others (see supra p. 120, note 2). Gregory must have seized the opportunity to specify his position with regard to Greek philosophy and to stress its limited value in order to stick to it within these limits determinedly. The same thing happened later to Thomas Aquinas at the time of the reception of the rediscovered Aristotle.

[3] In other words, Gregory in the *Vita Moysis* is defending Origen's philosophical method by Origen's allegorical method.

[4] *Vita Moysis* 329 A sq.

[5] This definition of the relationship of ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία

nal philosophy is that it is sterile (ἄγονος). It suffers from incessant labor pains without ever bringing forth worth-while fruits [1]. The philosophers never really see the light of the knowledge of God (*theognosia*), although they might perhaps 'become men' (ἄνθρωποι γενέσθαι), the goal of all humanism, if they were not wrapped up so completely in the teachings of this sterile philosophy. Gregory sees this philosophy embodied in the figure of Pharaoh's daughter [2], who, since she cannot give life to a child of her own, adopts the Jewish infant whom she finds exposed in the box on the Nile. Thus Moses is educated in the wisdom of the Egyptians, but later he will learn his own true origin and will be ashamed of being called a son of Pharaoh's daughter [3]. Apparently this is how Gregory would like us to understand his own relationship to Greek philosophy. And indeed he was in need of such a symbolic definition in order to reconcile other Christians, who possessed no learning themselves, to the use he was making of the philosophic tradition and encyclopaedic learning of the Greeks [4]. By subordinating them to the authority of the Scriptures he hoped to settle this bitter conflict, which

to philosophy had become widely accepted in the Hellenistic period and was taken for granted by philosophers of the Roman Imperial Age. See now J. H. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1948), ch. VIII (with notes p. 523) and the same author's *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris 1938, 2d printing 1949 with 'Retractatio') p. 187 and 211 sq., and especially 281 sq.

[1] *Vita Moysis* 329 B.

[2] This criticism is launched at the 'preliminary' character of most philosophical thought, which never seems to reach its ultimate goal.

[3] *Vita Moysis* 329 B-C.

[4] Both 'encyclic *paideia*' and philosophy, representing the lower and the higher grade of learning, when taken together form the Ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία, which Epiphanius had called the source of all Origen's heresies. See p. 121.

threatened to end the first heroic attempt to bridge the gap separating faith and reason. Gregory's self-defense at the start of the treatise, as we see now, was an episode in this struggle of his later years. It makes us better understand the immediate motive of his effort in the *Vita Moysis* to find a satisfactory formulation for the relationship of Christian theology to Greek philosophy.

The solution could be found only by setting up a system of theology that aimed at full 'knowledge of the truth' (γνῶσις τῆς ἀληθείας). This concept, which the treatise introduces at the beginning (p. 41, 3-11) as the only way out of mankind's present state of corruption, appears in the *Vita Moysis* in its fuller context (332 C-333 A sq.). Gregory there defines it as a means of purification of our concepts of being and not-being. It grows only as the fruit of a long process of quiet philosophical training in patient inquiry into the highest problems, finally resulting in the clear distinction of that which truly is and that which is mere appearance, ὄντως ὄν and ὂν τῷ δοκεῖν μόνον (cf. *Vita Moysis* 333 B). The same distinction is made in the treatise and other writings of Gregory. It carries with it a whole group of related concepts such as the equation of ὄντως ὄν with τὸ ἀγαθόν and with τὸ ὄντως ὀρεκτόν or ἐπιθυμητόν, all of which designate the relation of right action and *areté* to γνῶσις τῆς ἀληθείας; for the attainment of the true good, to which the knowledge of true being leads, results in freedom (ἐλευθερία) and ἀπάθεια, the control of the passions, whereas the striving for that which only appears to be good (φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν) leads to the servitude of the mind to the tyranny of passion. All these basic concepts already appear in the *De virginitate* [1]. They are the foundation of all Platonic philosophy. They form the core of Gregory's theology

[1] *De virg.* p. 291, 14 sq., especially 292, 21-293, 11.

and confirm his own statement that Greek philosophy 'may contribute something truly useful' [1], provided that only its sane elements are taken over into Christian thought and the bad ones excluded. Here are a few examples of what he has in mind in saying this. The philosophical theology of the Greeks is sound if it assumes the existence of God, but it is unsound if many of the philosophers have a materialistic conception of the first principle. Some of the Greek philosophers rightly assume a divine creator of the world, but they err in thinking that He needs matter in order to create it. Some rightly say that the soul is immortal, but they mar their own insight by teaching the transmigration of souls into animals. Or they state that God is good and omnipotent but that in the details of creation and in the administration of the world He has to yield to the power of necessity and fate (εἱμαρμένη) [2]. Against the latter Gregory wrote his book *Contra fatum*, which is the report of a dialogue he one day had on this subject with a pagan philosopher and convinced astrologist at Constantinople [3]. With the theory of transmigration of souls he had dealt in the *De opificio hominis*, and elsewhere he refutes the idea that God created the world out of matter [4]. So there quite naturally emerges from this critical evaluation of the Greek philosophical tradition (ἡ ἔξω φιλοσοφία) the ideal of a purified philosophy [5], and if we look at it from this point of view, all of Gregory's thought and writing appears as a consistent effort to bring about this catharsis of Greek philosophy. It means the reception into Christian

[1] See p. 134, note 1.
[2] *Vita Moysis* 337 A-B.
[3] *Contra fatum*, *P.G.* XLV, 145-173.
[4] *De opificio hominis*, ch. 28 (metempsychosis) and 24 (matter).
[5] *Vita Moysis* 337 A sq.

theology of the 'sound elements' of Greek (i.e. Platonic) philosophy. These coincide with what one might call the 'essentials' of Plato's thought [1]. Gregory quotes Basil as his authority for this use of philosophy, the acquisition of which is ordered by Scripture for the higher life of true *areté* [2]. Thus whereas St. Thomas later keeps philosophy and theology apart, Gregory takes the Platonic metaphysics into the very structure of his theology, thereby making it a kind of philosophy of the Neoplatonic type that is itself theology. Into the treatise that he wrote for the monks Gregory admitted only the basic concepts of this philosophy. The thought of the treatise can be fully understood only against the background of its more complete presentation in the *Vita Moysis*, where he had incorporated this ontology into the theory of the ascetic life. The treatise is, so to speak, the *editio minor* of Gregory's ascetic philosophy, and that explains its popularity among those who had to live the monastic life rather than to theorize ontologically about it.

The *Vita Moysis* now proceeds by introducing a number of concepts with which the reader of the treatise is very familiar: the idea of divine help or cooperation (συνεργία, συμμαχία, etc.) with the man who struggles against the forces of evil in his own soul [3]. This motif, which hardly occurs in the *De virginitate*, is stressed many times in the *Vita Moysis*, and we see how its importance has increased for Gregory. There were two reasons for this: the greater spiritual experience of his

[1] It has been stated before that Gregory, like Philo and Origen, always adds to them certain Stoic elements; the latter serve mainly to develop Plato's moral philosophy. See p. 79 sq.

[2] *Vita Moysis* 360 B-C. Basil is there called a model of the right use of the 'wisdom of the Egyptians'.

[3] *Vita Moysis* 337 C sq., a *locus classicus* for Gregory's theory of 'synergy'.

old age, and the theological importance of the Holy Ghost that he had championed in the meantime, during the long disputes over its divinity. We must refer to the previous chapter for Gregory's concept of divine cooperation (*concursus*) [1]. Here we can only state that this concept is applied throughout the *Vita Moysis* and receives the strongest emphasis. Divine cooperation depends on man's own effort and increases with it. We find in the *Vita Moysis* all the concomitants of this theory, which constitute the ascetic philosophy of the treatise: the idea of man's spiritual growth and spiritual age, and the emphasis on his free will, which does not recognize any limitation of his action by divine predetermination. The only limitation that is recognized is that resulting from the lack of γνῶσις θεοῦ, for this lack causes man to become entangled in the net of daily life. God's assistance cannot be extended to him who does not see and whose heart is therefore hardened against every higher influence. Therefore man ought to free himself from these fetters and give himself up entirely to God. Moses was for Gregory the pattern of this gradual process of purification of the soul. His life shows the ascent from earthly confusion to the light of pure contemplation of things divine. He becomes the model of the true ascetic.

Most of the concepts in the treatise that are taken from the *Vita Moysis* are concerned with the experience of man's spiritual growth and coming of age. It is natural that this should be so, since the two books belong to the same stage of Gregory's development, and what separates them from the *De virginitate* is precisely that deeper personal experience of true freedom of spirit which the author attained during the long temporal interval between that brilliant early book and the

[1] See p. 92 sq.

mature works of his last years. Like the treatise, the *Vita Moysis* speaks much of the good and bad λογισμοί, the διάκρισις τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ, the ὁδηγία of the soul towards the higher world, also called φωταγωγία[1] because it is a process of man's becoming light, and of the experience of grace. The principles of Christian life that the author had grasped in the *De virginitate* with a keen intellectual effort and aesthetic sense of their beauty are visualized more from within in the two late works, and it is this that gives them their moving power. The wealth of Greek philosophy of which the author had made use in his early years with a feeling of originality and perfect freedom is now used humbly for the 'interior decoration of the Christian temple' (*Vita Moysis* 360 C). The psychology of the affections and their relationship to reason is now the point of Gregory's strongest interest. Even assistance from above is not more dogma than psychological experience. 'Freedom' and 'servitude' as described in the *Vita Moysis* and in the treatise are not mere philosophical images but internal realities, and so is separation from sensual pleasure and from worldly affairs and ambitions. Theology becomes humanized. The idea of a philosophical βίος had always impressed Gregory most strongly. This was of course more or less characteristic of all Hellenistic philosophy, and it explains why the transition from this kind of philosophic life to Christianity was comparatively easy in those times. But Gregory's development led him from a grasp of the contours of such a βίος in the plastic fashion of the ancients to an inner fulfillment of it that permeates every line of the

[1] *Vita Moysis* 332 C; for the other more common concepts I give no examples. The process of 'becoming light' (φῶς γενέσθαι) is referred to many times in Gregory's ascetic writings. It is also found in the treatise, p. 51, 22 al.

treatise and the *Vita Moysis* and makes his later works overflow with a new inner wealth. There are our old acquaintances, the ideas of a ceaseless struggle, πόνος, ἱδρώς, ἀγών, ἆθλος, κάματος, δρόμος, of a thirst and hunger, and insatiable ἔρως, πόθος and ἐπιθυμία for the Divine beauty (ἀρχέτυπον κάλλος) that sets that struggle in motion and carries man along on his road. There are the steps (βαθμίδες) on which he climbs upward, and προκοπή and κατόρθωμα. There are the attempts of the Evil to divert him from right and to weaken his effort by besetting him with his two greatest temptations, the opposite extremes of despair (ἀπόγνωσις ἐλπίδων) and pride (ὑπερηφανία), which threaten all perfectionism. The same images of temptation (δέλεαρ, ἄγκιστρον, etc.) appear as in the treatise. But the infallible guidance of the Spirit leads the purified soul up to the final stage of consummation in which it will see God. It finds there Hesychia, the Lady Quiet, and it will choose her as its teacher of the high sciences (διδάσκαλον ὑψηλῶν μαθημάτων). She is the soul's Diotima.

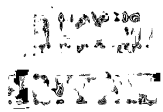
Thus the *Vita Moysis* has proved to be one of the two most important sources of the treatise *De instituto Christiano*. The thoughts of the latter have been *selected* from Gregory's former works, as he himself assures us in the foreword, and, as we have shown, the *De virginitate* and the *Vita Moysis* have supplied the largest part of its contents. Closer examination of the *In Cantica Canticorum* and the *In Psalmos* shows that they too have contributed, though to a lesser degree. But it is unnecessary to accumulate further evidence. The comparison of the treatise with Gregory's earliest and latest works on the ascetic life has sufficiently confirmed his statement about their relationship. Even if we did not have his own words on this point,[1] we would be com-

[1] See supra, p. 116 sq.

pelled to infer that the treatise is a comprehensive and more concise reformulation of the ideas scattered throughout his former works. But neither the *De virginitate* nor the *Vita Moysis* alone contains all the ideas of the treatise. Both works differ in the emphasis they place on certain aspects of the problem. But in the *De instituto Christiano* the author has combined both and has thus made this smaller work in a sense more complete than either of the larger ones. If we add to this the fact of his having given his views a more abundant biblical documentation in the treatise, we can understand why later generations in the history of Eastern monasticism gave it such a high place among Gregory's ascetic works.

PART TWO

THE INFLUENCE OF GREGORY'S TREATISE ON THE THEOLOGY OF MACARIUS



CHAPTER ONE

THE REDISCOVERED GREAT LETTER OF 'MACARIUS' TO THE MONKS AND ITS VARIOUS REDACTIONS

The place of Gregory's treatise in the late fourth century has been determined in the preceding chapters, and its authenticity has been definitely established on the basis of the new original text. We are therefore now for the first time in a position to trace the history of this work during the following period of Eastern Christian monasticism, particularly in the fifth century.

From the great masters of classical scholarship in the last two or three generations, and particularly from U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, we have learned not to study the manuscript tradition of a classical author as it were in a vacuum, but to try to reconstruct the history of his text in all its phases and thus to arrive at a better understanding of the condition in which his work appears in our oldest mediaeval manuscripts. Often the history of the text is of practical importance for the constitution of that text, and it also leads to a deeper insight into the nature of the very process of tradition which has kept the memory of an author alive and preserved his works. In the case of our classical Greek authors, there are various reasons for their survival. For centuries philosophical texts such as the works of Plato or Aristotle were handed down from one generation to another within the philosophical schools which grew from the seed of the living word of

the master. The works of the poets were read in the schools of the grammarians, and the rhetorical schools kept the memory of the orators alive. All these parts of the tradition were connected with one another insofar as they were all branches of the same great tree: the ancient Greek παιδεία.

The history of a Christian text is in the same way linked to the living process of the religious tradition of the Christian church. The preservation of a Christian author is generally due to the importance which his work had for the spiritual life of this great community, which guaranteed, better than libraries or mechanical means of preservation, the survival of what was recognized as being of lasting value for the Christian faith. Thus the history of a text cannot be understood in terms of the indelibility of ink and parchment or of the technical achievements of the scribes alone. The fate of the text is to a large extent determined by the spiritual authority of its author in later centuries. What the ancient philosophical schools did for the preservation of the works of the classical philosophers, that the monastic tradition did for the great Christian authors and particularly for the texts which the monastic communities esteemed as the classical documents of their ascetic ideal.

This is what has happened in the case of Gregory of Nyssa's treatises on the ascetic life; and among these the treatise on true ascesis and on the common life of the monks seems to have been a special favorite, as might be expected. Although we possess no manuscripts old enough to shed direct light on the transmission of the text during the period following Gregory's death (5th and 6th centuries), much can be learned indirectly about its preservation and propagation in Eastern ascetic circles from the influence which Gre-

gory's treatise exercised on their thought and teaching. With the help of the original text we can now perceive this influence more easily in the repeated attempts of later ascetic authors to reshape or paraphrase Gregory's work and thereby to keep its ideal alive in the monastic tradition. They did so not merely by private reading but by teaching and preaching Gregory's thoughts in their own words, both by quotation of single passages and by adaptation of the whole work. Of particular significance in this connection are the works which manuscript tradition has preserved under the name of Macarius [1]. Their relation to Gregory of Nyssa is important not only for the history of Gregory's rediscovered treatise, but even more for the solution of that old and puzzling problem of the corpus of ascetic writings which rightly or wrongly bears the name of the famous Egyptian monk. For if it were possible to establish irrefutably the dependence of the Macarian writings and their mystic type of theology on Gregory of Nyssa's treatise, which belongs to his latest years (between 390 and 395), the date of these writings would be relegated to the fifth century, whereas now they are generally placed in Gregory's lifetime [2]. Moreover, a revision of the now-prevailing theory of their historic origin and character would be unavoidable.

Let us once more return to the question with which we started this book and which has given rise to the whole discussion of Gregory's treatise in recent times:

[1] See what has been said about the writings of the so-called Macarius of Egypt, printed in Migne *P.G.* XXXIV, supra p. 37 sq.

[2] J. Stiglmayr was inclined to date them later than the fourth century, but the identification of the author with one of the leaders of the Messalian heresy, which is the hypothesis of L. Villecourt, would place the Macarian corpus in the second half of the fourth century.

the question of its relationship to the letters of 'Macarius'. This discussion, we remember, began with the startling observation of the late J. Stiglmayr, S.J., that the treatise coincides in its second half with the second part of what scholars then used to call the 'great letter' of Macarius (ep. II in Migne's edition) [1]. Stiglmayr assumed that Pseudo-Macarius had borrowed this part of his letter from Gregory of Nyssa. But Villecourt's critique of this hypothesis seemed to prove definitely that the opposite was true, i.e. that the letter of 'Macarius' was the source of Gregory's treatise. [2] As a consequence he was driven to question the authenticity of the treatise, for if the so-called Macarius wrote in the late fourth or fifth century, the author of the treatise, who supposedly borrows from him, could not be Gregory of Nyssa, quite apart from the fact that Gregory was no compiler. Indirectly Villecourt thereby made an important if negative contribution to the problem of Macarius' relationship to the true Gregory of Nyssa, for he disposed of the one striking example which so far had been found of a direct influence of Gregory of Nyssa on Macarius. This negative result discouraged all further inquiry in this direction and, as we shall see presently, obscured the real situation for three decades. It was due to it that the historical origin of the religious ideas which characterize the writings of Macarius was sought in an entirely different direction.

Again it was Villecourt who gave Macarius studies this new impetus. After severing every connection between the letter of Macarius and Gregory of Nyssa, he thought he had discovered the true source of the ascetic doctrines of Macarius in a heretical community

[1] See supra p. 37.
[2] See p. 40 sq.

of monks called the Messalians. John of Damascus, who describes this sect about which we have only very scanty information, gives a list of the dogmatic errors into which they fell. Villecourt thought he had found some of these erratic ideas in the writings preserved under the name of Macarius, most of them in the form of homilies. [1] If Villecourt were correct in this identification, the hitherto impenetrable religious background of these writings would finally become clear: they originated from a group of ascetics disowned and condemned by the Eastern church towards the end of the fourth century. This result created a paradoxical situation, for whereas these works had been admired by the church of East and West alike for many centuries and were praised by many as a perfect model of this mystic type of piety, it now looked as if these eulogies had been lavished on a community of dangerous and superstitious heretics. This fact was soon recognized with sincere regret by one of the outstanding Catholic authorities in the field of late ancient ascetic theology, A. Wilmart [2], whereas A. Jülicher, a leading representative of liberal Protestant theology in Germany and a great historian of early Christianity, made a short announcement of the sensational find, not without a touch of irony. [3] Thus both Catholic and Protestant scholars

[1] L. Villecourt, 'La date et l'origine des "Homélies spirituelles" attribuées à Macaire', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1920, p. 29-53.

[2] A. Wilmart, 'L'origine véritable des homélies pneumatiques', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* vol. I (1920) p. 361-377.

[3] A. Jülicher, 'Geheiligte Ketzer', *Protestantische Monatshefte* vol. 25, 1921. See also G. L. Marriott, 'The Messalians and the Discovery of their Ascetic Book', *Harvard Theological Review* vol. 19 (1926) p. 191-198. He begins his article thus: 'The publication in the *Harvard Theological Studies* in 1918 of *Macarii Anecdota*, consisting of seven new homilies attributed to St. Macarius of Egypt, has revived interest in the mystery surrounding the authorship of the Macarian writings' (Mariott

made haste to acknowledge the discovery and incorporate it in the book of 'accomplished facts.' [1]

It was from this discovery that historical research on Macarius gained fresh momentum. The hope of giving the rich and unexplored source material which we possess under his name its rightful place in history stimulated the imagination of theological scholars, and a plan of preparing a real edition of his works even took shape. It is now part of the editorial program of the Berlin Academy, [2] which is thereby greatly expanding its original intention of editing the works of Greek Christian authors down to the Council of Nicaea. The preparatory study of the manuscript tradition of the Macarius writings has been carried out by Professor Hermann Dörries of Göttingen, who has explored the various branches of the tradition with tireless zeal. [3] In this manuscript tradition there exist several collections of Macarius' homilies which differ in the arrangement of the material and in the degree of its completeness. Dörries' book is a mine of first-hand information

is here referring to his own edition of seven new Macarian homilies, which unfortunately have proved spurious) 'and this renewed interest has given birth to a discovery. The controversy over the authorship of these writings is—at least in main outline—at an end'.

[1] See also the handbooks of Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*[6] 2. Teil 2. Hälfte p. 1387, and B. Altaner *Patrologie*[2] p. 225. They reflect the same optimism as does the acceptance of Villecourt's results by the scholars previously named.

[2] On the plan of the Academy edition of Macarius see E. Klostermann, *Symeon und Macarius* (*Abh. Berlin. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1944, Nr. 11) p. 5 sq.

[3] H. Dörries published his vast researches on the manuscript tradition of Macarius in *Texte und Untersuchungen z. Gesch. d. altchristlichen Lit.*, 4. Reihe 10. Bd., 1. Heft, Leipzig 1941. Dörries' results on the various collections of Macarius' works preserved in our manuscripts are fundamental for all future editors.

on the Macarius tradition, to which the present inquiry is greatly indebted. On the historical problem of the origin and character of the works, the book is rather brief and hypothetical, [1] if Villecourt's identification of Macarius with the Messalian heresy is a mere hypothesis. Dörries embraces this view in the first few pages of his work wholeheartedly. The question of the relation of Macarius to Gregory of Nyssa is mentioned only briefly in a footnote (p. 147, 1). There the possibility that Macarius might have used Gregory of Nyssa is dismissed as already sufficiently refuted by Villecourt's demonstration that the 'Great Letter' of Macarius was the source of Gregory's treatise, which therefore must be spurious.

In all these respects Villecourt's theories are accepted by Dörries, but he makes an attempt of his own to attach the Macarius writings to a definite historical name. We know little about the leaders of the group called Messalians. There is no person named Macarius among them, but the man who seems to have exercised the greatest influence over them is a certain Symeon of Mesopotamia, though several others are mentioned too. Dörries thinks it plausible that this Symeon, of whom nothing else is known, was the true author of the writings of 'Macarius'. He is so sure of this conjecture that he gives his book the title *Symeon von Mesopotamien: Die Überlieferung der messalianischen "Makarios"-Schriften* [2]. His chief argument is the appearance of the name Symeon in some of our Greek manuscripts as author of a few of the homilies. But in the Arabic version investigated by Strothmann and

[1] On the alleged Messalian origin of the Macarius writings see Dörries *loc. cit.* p. 3-8.

[2] See note 3 p. 150. On Symeon as the author of the Macarius corpus see Dörries p. 7.

Dörries the *whole* corpus of Macarius writings goes under the name Symeon [1]). That this man was identical with the unknown Messalian Symeon, Dörries concludes from the alleged traces of Messalian heresies found in Macarius by Villecourt. In view of this uncertainty, even if we suppose that Symeon is the correct name of the writings of the so-called Macarius, it seems hard to accept the identity of the bearer of this very common name with the Messalian heretic as definitely established [2]. A new inquiry is necessary, and the safest way of procedure seems to be to start not with an over-all theory based on a doubtful name but from a few demonstrable facts. It would be of real importance if we were in a position to prove that the ideas of one or a few of the more characteristic documents which go under the name of Macarius are closely related to a definite historical personality in Christian literature. We would then be able to expand this inquiry to other writings of Macarius and so gradually gain ground. Such a point of departure offers itself most naturally now that we have found that the rediscovered original text of Gregory's treatise on the ascetic life is the real source of the formerly so-called 'Great letter' of Macarius [3]. The first half of Dom Villecourt's theory therefore has collapsed. We do not know of course how the strange contamination which we have found in this

[1] W. Strothmann, *Die arabische Makariustradition*, Diss. Theol. Göttingen 1934.

[2] The Symeon who appears in a few Greek manuscripts as the author of some of the homilies is Symeon the Stylite. He, like 'Macarius of Egypt', was also a famous hermit. Similarly, some of the pseudepigraphic monastic rules are attributed to him, as others are ascribed to Macarius or Paphnutius. In some manuscripts works otherwise attributed to Macarius are preserved under the name of Symeon Metaphrastes, which would place them in the 11th century. See Dörries *loc. cit.* p. 5 sq.

[3] *P.G.* XXXIV, 409-441 (= ep. II).

letter, of a homily of Macarius (first half) and the treatise of Gregory of Nyssa (second half), took place [1]. Either it is the work of a compiler who connected both deliberately, or this literary hippocentaur is the product of a mechanical accident in our manuscript tradition, in which case a loss of several folia or a quaternio would be the easiest explanation. At any rate 'Macarius' and Gregory of Nyssa were closely associated, either by 'Macarius' himself or by his followers who helped in shaping the manuscript tradition of our Macarius corpus. On closer inspection this will be confirmed by many details in the Macarius writings.

W. Völker, who has traced the development of the ascetic ideal of perfection in Origen, Philo, etc. [2], has already expressed doubts of the Messalian theory and has set forth the opinion that the ideas of Macarius on the ascetic life go back to the classical tradition of the fathers [3]. But we now possess a new document, which is of the greatest importance for the question of the relationship of 'Macarius' to Gregory of Nyssa and which promises a definite result: this is the extensive didactic letter under Macarius' name which was brought to light by Professor Dörries himself, though its text is as yet unedited [4]. I owe my first insight into this work, which more rightly deserves the name 'Great Letter' than does the compilation which we have discussed in the previous chapters of this book, to the kindness of Professor Dörries, who let me have photostats of a number of pages of the two Vatican manuscripts used by him. After comparing the contents of

[1] See p. 41 and 44 sq.

[2] See p. 107 n. 1.

[3] See W. Völker's important review of H. Dörries' book *Symeon von Mesopotamien* in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1943, col. 129-136.

[4] On this new letter see Dörries *loc. cit.* p. 144-157.

this letter with Gregory of Nyssa's original treatise, which was still unknown to Professor Dörries, I saw at once that the letter, though not a mechanical compilation from Gregory's text like the second letter printed in Migne, is not less closely related to Gregory's treatise. This letter of about 67 pages contains a complete metaphrase of Gregory's treatise from beginning to end. Gregory's work was of the greatest interest to the author of the letter, who in the Greek manuscripts bears the name 'Macarius'. In the Arabic version he is called Symeon. Whatever his true name, there can be no doubt that he is identical with the author of the so-called Macarius homilies. The 'Letter to the Monks' is written in the same highly enthusiastic style which we know from the homilies [1]. It uses the same theological vocabulary and terminology, it quotes the same biblical material and teaches the same mystic-ascetic philosophy. In short, both letter and homilies stem from the same personality, whose great authority among the monks of his community has been the cause of the preservation of this whole valuable corpus.

In these documents of a highly idealistic spirit ruling and guiding his brethren towards the goal of Christian life as he understands it: complete surrender to the will of God and devotion to contemplative prayer, we see monastic education at work. It is a fact of far-reaching importance that the only didactic work of this great religious teacher, his letter to the monks containing his ascetic doctrine, is nothing but an expanded and explanatory paraphrase of the treatise of Gregory of Nyssa on the true ascetic life, which

[1] The language and style of the letter distinguish it clearly from those of Gregory of Nyssa's treatise and other ascetic works. 'Macarius' employs vulgarisms constantly, and his Greek is a far cry from the polished literary productions of Gregory, the former rhetorician and master of the art of writing.

was written for exactly the same purpose. Here we can begin to grasp the enormous spiritual influence which Gregory's ascetic 'philosophy' in general and the rediscovered treatise in particular exercised on later ascetic thought and on the religious teaching in the monastic communities of the Eastern church. The concentrated form of the treatise fitted it uniquely for the purpose for which Gregory had been asked to write it, i.e. for the instruction of each succeeding generation of monks and for their initiation into the ascetic life. Apparently the book achieved its aim. It must have been intended originally for the particular monks who requested Gregory's assistance in this matter, presumably in the monasteries which Basil had founded in the Pontus. But from there the book must have migrated to the monastic communities of the Near East, for we shall find it in Syria in the form of a (still unpublished) Syrian paraphrase, and elsewhere as well. In all probability the author of the great letter of 'Macarius' did not intend at all to commit deliberate 'plagiarism' when he paraphrased page after page of the treatise for his monks; his method simply reflects the easiest way then known of carrying on the living tradition. He was not concerned with literary originality, but was merely taking the good where he found it in the classical tradition of monastic literature. The most radical change he thought necessary to make was that of translating Gregory's work into a more homiletic style suitable for oral delivery and calculated to have a more immediate rhetorical effect on his listeners. There are to be sure other changes in the 'Great Letter', such as occasional excursuses and additions, which will require a more detailed discussion of the two works, and to this exact comparison the next chapter will be devoted. Evidently Gregory of Nyssa represented for

'Macurius' the ascetic theological tradition in its authoritative form. More specifically, Gregory's treatise on the true goal of the monastic life appeared to him a summary of that tradition which he wanted to keep alive in the hearts of his 'beloved children.' Therefore one way of achieving his purpose was to elucidate this great document of mystic-ascetic piety for them in the form of a didactic letter. In this kind of religious writing it was not customary to quote or to cite authorities, since it was not primarily directed to a learned or literary audience, and thus we should not expect to find an express reference to Gregory of Nyssa [1]. It is not unlikely that the monks knew Gregory's work in its original form but that they really had asked for a new guide of this sort, just as in Gregory's own time an earlier generation of monks had asked him to write the treatise for them in the first place. At least this is what 'Macarius' himself says in the proem of the letter, though it is possible that paraphrase is here carried to a slavish degree and thus becomes fiction in the case of the imitator [2].

If the 'Great Letter' of Macarius is a document of such decisive importance for the history of the influence of Gregory's treatise, the history of the letter itself

[1] There are some modern parallels for this sort of survival of anonymous monastic instructions after they have attained absolute authority. A guide book of this kind, written for his order by one of the early Jesuits, has constantly been adjusted by later generations and has been preserved by precisely such change and continuous adaptation.

[2] It is a well-known fact that the Byzantine author who takes his nickname from his work of expanding and rephrasing earlier books, particularly the Lives of the Saints, Symeon Metaphrastes, does not hesitate to leave the 'I' of the original author unchanged. We cannot exclude the possibility that 'Macarius' has done exactly the same thing with the words of Gregory of Nyssa in the proem of the treatise. See the parallel printing of the proems of both works on p. 176 sq.

begins to interest us as a vehicle of that influence. For apparently the process of reshaping Gregory's thought did not stop with this paraphrase made by 'Macarius'. On the contrary, this revival gave rise to new attempts to spread and inculcate these ideas. One form of propagation was to draw on them directly as a source of inspiration and to scatter the material in sermons and oral instructions given to the monks. This process we are now in a position to trace in the homilies of 'Macarius' himself, for they offer numerous examples of such borrowing. Before we were able to establish, by a striking example, the close relationship of Macarius to Gregory of Nyssa, it was of course difficult to detect these scattered traces, but now, with the new treatise of Gregory and the new letter of 'Macarius' at our disposal, everything becomes much simpler and we find plenty of evidence in the homilies to confirm our result. This, however, will require a special chapter [1]. But there are several other ways in which Gregory's treatise influenced later ascetic thought *indirectly* through the various channels by which its paraphrase, the 'Great Letter' of 'Macarius', was transmitted in more or less modified or shortened form. The following retractations of the 'Great Letter' have come to my notice:

1. The two treatises *On Perfection* and *On Prayer* (included among the alleged seven opuscula of Macarius on the ascetic life).
2. A Syriac epitome of the 'Great Letter' under the name of 'Macarius'.
3. A shorter version of the Greek text of the letter (not containing the long final section) under the name of Ephraem Syrus.

[1] See p. 208 sq.

4. The Arabic version of the 'Great Letter' under the name of Symeon.

There may be other versions still unknown to us of the 'Great Letter' in Greek or in Slavic or Oriental languages, most probably in Syriac or Coptic. I shall deal here only with the material listed above and begin with the two short treatises *On Perfection* and *On Prayer* which are preserved under the name of 'Macarius' or that of Symeon Metaphrastes (10th century?). I shall not go into details of their tradition, which will be dealt with in the new edition of 'Macarius', but shall state only the obvious facts.

Even before Professor Dörries' book became known to me after the end of the war and before I learned about the discovery of the 'Great Letter', I had noticed that the two treatises *On Perfection* and *On Prayer* [1] somehow represent a paraphrase of Gregory of Nyssa's treatise on the ascetic life. They divide it into two parts. The tract *On Prayer* takes up where the previous tract *On Perfection* leaves off [2]. Together they cover the content of Gregory's treatise from beginning to end. But there are certain differences, not only in the words of Gregory which they sometimes paraphrase freely [3], but also in point of fact. For instance, the catalogue of virtues and vices which according to Gregory form a chain and tend toward a kind of climax, is arranged in the 'Macarius' tract in exactly the opposite order [4].

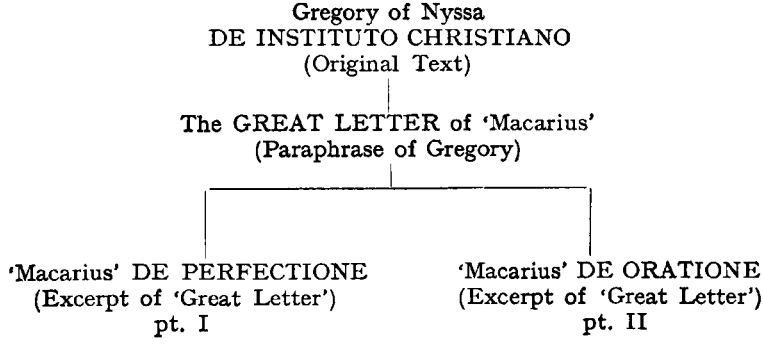
[1] *P.G.* XXXIV, 841-852 and 853-865.

[2] The words with which the second treatise begins (*P.G.* XXXIV, 853 A) and which call prayer the κεφάλαιον . . . καὶ κορυφὴ τῶν κατορθωμάτων correspond to Gregory's *De inst. Chr.* 78, 9.

[3] For example, where Gregory speaks of the seniors or superiors of the 'philosophical chorus', the two opuscula of 'Macarius' use the later and more rigidified terms μοναστήριον, μοναχοί, ἡγούμενοι, etc., i.e. monastery, monks, abbots.

[4] *P.G.* XXXIV, 852 B-C.

There are other less obvious discrepancies of this sort. But now these are no longer a problem, because the 'Great Letter' of Macarius which has been found offers the explanation. The two tracts *On Perfection* and *On Prayer* are excerpts not from Gregory directly but from the 'Great Letter' of Macarius, and their resemblance to Gregory of Nyssa is due to the fact that the 'Great Letter' is itself a paraphrase of Gregory's treatise. It is impossible that its author is the same as the author of the two tracts. A relationship similar to that between the 'Great Letter' and the tracts *On Perfection* and *On Prayer* exists between the homilies of Macarius and the other five opuscula going under his name. The tracts therefore must represent a further stage in the process of the utilization and reshaping of the material derived from Gregory of Nyssa during the Byzantine period (alleged Symeon Metaphrastes cf. p. 158). The stemma of this process may be represented as follows:



When Dörries found the 'Great Letter' he of course recognized that the two tracts which our manuscripts ascribe to the same author (Macarius) are only poor excerpts from the new letter. But what he could not see was the fact that the tracts go back indirectly (as the letter does directly) to the original text of Gregory's

treatise. On the contrary, the bad excerpt of the treatise which is printed as the text of Gregory in Migne's edition appeared to Dörries as just another excerpt of Macarius' 'Great Letter'. Thus the true source of Macarius was completely obscured.

The Syriac version is preserved under the name of Macarius in codex British Museum Add. 12175. It was first noticed by Dom Villecourt, who directed the attention of scholars to it in his article "La grande lettre grecque de Macaire", *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* Vol. 22 (1920-1) p. 38 sq. I had a full photographic reproduction of the treatise made for Professor Hermann Langerbeck, my friend and fellow-editor, who did me the great kindness of translating it into German for my own use. I have not incorporated the text of his translation into this volume, since it is not a part of my plan to trace the history of the translating or paraphrasing or excerpting of the Macarius letter. I give here, therefore, only the results of my careful analysis of this Syriac document. It interests us primarily as a second stage in the history of the propagation of Gregory of Nyssa's treatise on the ascetic life. In this respect the Syriac version stands in the same line with the two tracts *De perfectione* and *De oratione* (see p. 158), which are likewise ascribed to Macarius by our manuscripts. In general they represent almost literal excerpts from the Macarius letter, whereas the Syriac version is a shortened paraphrase of it. It follows the text of the letter from page to page and faithfully reproduces the various stages of its thought. The biblical passages referred to in the letter occur at the same places in the paraphrase, which makes it easy to trace the parallelism of the two texts throughout the work. Like the two tracts *On Perfection* and *On Prayer*, the Syriac paraphrase appears at first sight to be a direct retractation

of Gregory's treatise, but only as long as one does not know the text of the 'Great Letter' of Macarius which was the intermediary source. On closer inspection and when compared with both the treatise and the letter, the Syriac version proves to be a paraphrase made from the Macarius letter. But since the letter is itself an expanded paraphrase of Gregory's treatise, the Syrian is an abridged paraphrase of that paraphrase, a retractation of the retractation. This makes it practically useless as a secondary source of the text of Gregory. But here and there it may have some value for the correction of the text of the Macarius letter from which it is derived. I must leave it to a scholar who can compare the Syriac original with the Greek text of Macarius to re-examine both with this purpose in mind. The publication of the Syriac version would be the first step in this direction. It seems to me that for the provisional text of the letter of Macarius which I am going to present in the present volume such an effort would be out of proportion. But the Syriac version is an important document testifying to the authority of the 'Great Letter' of Macarius in the Syrian Church, and indirectly a witness to the influence of Gregory's treatise, of which the letter is an expanded paraphrase.

This influence is confirmed by the fact that besides the Syriac version there exists a 'letter to the monks' attributed in Assemani's edition and in manuscripts to Ephraem Syrus which is identical with the 'Great Letter' of 'Macarius' [1]. We shall deal with this branch of the tradition and with its importance as a source of the text of the letter in the following chapter. Of course the attribution of the letter to the great saint and

[1] *Ephraem Syri Opera*, vol. III graece (Rome 1746) p. 324-355 (*Institutio ad monachos*).

master of the Syrian Church carries no weight whatsoever with regard to the complicated problem of the authorship of the work. A large number of works by other authors is erroneously attributed to Ephraem in the manuscripts originating in the sphere of his spiritual authority, particularly among his works in the Greek language. A work like the letter of Macarius, if it was widely read in the Syrian Church, would almost inevitably sooner or later be ascribed to Ephraem in order to explain its influence. Apart from this, it must remain an open question where the unknown author lived and whether he had anything to do with Syria. It is perfectly possible that he was a Syrian monk and that our Macarius tradition has its origin there. In that case the false attribution of the 'Great Letter' to another great Syrian saint and father of the Syrian Church would be even more easily explained. At any rate the so-called Ephraem version cannot be a work of Ephraem, because he died before Gregory wrote the book of which the letter is a paraphrase. For this I must refer to the next two chapters, where the relationship of the letter to Gregory's *De instituto Christiano* will be analyzed in great detail. There I shall discuss also the fact that in the Ephraem version the polemical epilogue of the letter is missing, a fact which may have something to do with the history of the composition of the work.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TEXT OF THE GREAT LETTER OF 'MACARIUS' AND ITS TRADITION

Before undertaking a more detailed comparison of the recovered Great Letter of 'Macarius' [1] with the new complete text of Gregory's treatise on the ascetic life, I must first speak of the text tradition of the former, since I have already dealt with the manuscripts of Gregory's work in my recent edition of it [2]. Hereafter I shall refer to the Great Letter of Macarius simply as the 'letter', for the traditional name can no longer be applied to Epist. II (Migne) [3] now that we have proved that it is a mere compilation, probably not made by 'Macarius' himself.

The Greek text of the new letter is still unedited, but Professor Dörries, its discoverer, has given a complete German paraphrase of its contents in his book [4]. In a footnote he has added an outline of a reconstruction of the text as he was able to fit it together from the two fragmentary Greek manuscripts A and B and from the Arabic translation of the letter that has been preserved

[1] See p. 153 sq.

[2] *Greg. Nyss. Opera* VIII, 1 p. 3-39.

[3] Epistula II in Migne's edition of Macarius, *P.G.* XXXIV, 409-441. The letter was first published by H. J. Floss, who edited it for Migne's collection from a Berlin manuscript that has been lost since the Second World War. Since its first appearance in Migne in 1860 it has always been called the 'Great Letter', particularly after L. Villecourt's article *La grande lettre grecque de Macaire* (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* XXII, sér. 3 tom. II, 1920-21, p. 29 sq.).

[4] *Loc. cit.* p.144.

to us. The two manuscripts from which Dörries derived his knowledge of the Greek text were cod. Vaticanus graecus 694 (B) and cod. Vaticanus graecus 710 (A), both of the thirteenth century, if not slightly older. I owe my first acquaintance with them to the photographic specimens that Professor Dörries very kindly sent me at my request. I then secured from the Vatican Library a total reproduction of the text of the letter in both these manuscripts and made a full collation of them after a careful transcription of B, the more complete of the two codices, had been made by my assistant Mr. James E. Walsh. Professor Dörries has rightly pointed out that of the two manuscripts A and B, A is only a short excerpt from the letter but that it supplements B in some parts that are wanting in B. Neither A nor B contains the proem of the work; in B this lacuna is even more extensive than in A, which has at least preserved the section immediately following the proem. Professor Dörries has also observed that there are other disturbances of the text in B, such as omissions and the transposition of a folium (6) that ought to follow folium 12. The Arabic translation of the letter is preserved in what Dörries calls the 'collection TV' (T = cod. Vat. arab. 70, V = cod. Vat. arab. 80), and he has observed that this Arabic version contains a much more complete text than the two Greek manuscripts A and B. In order to compare this indirect tradition with the two above mentioned Greek manuscripts, I obtained photostatic reproductions of these Arabic manuscripts from the Vatican also. Since I am not familiar with Arabic, I was fortunate in securing the competent assistance of Professor A. F. Nykl [1]. In

[1] I am glad to use this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to Professor A. F. Nykl, formerly of Harvard University for his kind services.

close cooperation we identified the portions of the letter preserved in A and B with the Arabic text. Although this work had already been done by Dr. Werner Strothmann, who examined the Arabic tradition for Professor Dörries, I had to do it over again for my reconstruction of the text since the fruits of their studies on the text of the letter are not yet published.

Fortunately it proved unnecessary to retranslate into Greek the pages that seemed to be preserved only in the Arabic version at the time when Dörries' book was published (1941), for in the course of my search for other excerpts or paraphrases of Gregory's treatise I noticed, as had the editors of Macarius, Dörries and Klostermann, that the letter of Macarius is also preserved under the name and among the Greek works of Ephraem Syrus, the famous contemporary of Gregory and leader of the Syrian church. How this came about is a problem I shall not discuss here. It is a well-known fact that many works of other writers have found shelter under the pseudonym of Ephraem, and the task of some future editor in disentangling this confused text tradition is an unenviable one. But we must be grateful to the whim of fortune to which we owe the preservation of this Greek text (E), for it fills the larger lacunae of our defective manuscripts A and B and corrects their text in many places, though it omits the long polemical epilogue of Macarius' letter [1]. It is the only extant witness of the Greek text of the proem, which is preserved in the Arabic version but missing in codd. A and B. Ephraem and the Arabic version in most cases supply a closely similar text for the other lacunae of A and B also. The end of the letter, preserved

[1] See the apparatus criticus ad p. 291, 8. It is evident that the long letter was more or less radically shortened towards the end by both 'Ephraem' and the Arabic translator.

in B in its Greek form but wanting in 'Ephraem', is at least partly preserved in the Arabic translation (pp. 291-7). The translator has omitted the rest, though not without giving the shortened epilogue a formal conclusion. The treatment that both the prologue and the epilogue of the letter have undergone at the hands of the copists (A omits the proem [1], E drops the whole epilogue, the Arab omits half of it) is symptomatic of the opinion they had of their task and illustrates the liberties they took in shortening and changing the text.

Now it so happens that a Greek manuscript of the Library of the Patriarchate in Jerusalem contains a large portion of the letter of 'Macarius'. I was able to obtain a microfilm of this codex through the Library of Congress in Washington, which in 1951 filmed all the manuscripts of the Jerusalem Patriarchate under the supervision of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. This is codex S. Saba 157 (described in Papadopoulos-Kerameus II, p. 251-60). I shall call it H(ierosolymitanus). The catalogue states that it contain 'ἐκ <τῶν τοῦ> ἁγίου Μακαρίου ἐπιστολῶν', fol. 152-172. In reality these folia do not contain the entire letter, nor does all of the text found in them belong to our letter. The words with which the text begins remind us immediately of the beginning of the Great Letter in codex A: ἔστω τοίνυν προηγουμένως πᾶσι τοῖς ἀφιερώσασιν ἑαυτούς (or ἑαυτοὺς ἀφιερώσασι). These are the words that follow immediately after the proem, which is omitted in both A and H. The text goes on from here to the word ἐπαγγέλλεται (p. 298, 9) in the middle of fol. 164ᵛ. After ἐπαγγέλλεται there is a small cross at the end of the line, and in the next

[1] The first folia of B are lost, so that it is hard to say whether the loss of the proem in that manuscript is due to omission or was caused by external circumstances.

line evidently begins another text (ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου ἀληθὴς ἔστι(ν) ὑμῖν), which does not belong to the letter. From this point on up to fol. 172 (end of the excerpts from Macarius) there are a number of short specimens, apparently all taken from the same author, but not exclusively from his letters [1]. The average length of these excerpts is from one to two pages. They are separated from one another by short spaces and the usual sign of a τέλος. The inscription found in the margin at the beginning of this whole series of excerpts (ἐκ <τῶν τοῦ> ἁγίου Μακαρίου ἐπιστολῶν) refers only to the first and longest of them, which is taken from the Great Letter.

The text of H goes on the whole more closely with that of 'Ephraem' than with A and B. Ephraem contains a large number of deviations from the text of the AB-group that also occur in H. Our first impression of the readings of E is that the scribe who attributes the letter to Ephraem may have taken the liberty of altering many readings, which he did not like or understand, according to his own ideas. But H shows that most of these readings are not peculiar to one manuscript and that they have nothing to do with the attempt to make Ephraem the author of the letter: these variants are characteristic of the whole Palestinian branch of our tradition. The inevitable conclusion is that there were two divergent redactions of the text of our letter, and that the text attributed to Ephraem was based on the Palestinian vulgate, which is likewise represented by the Jerusalem manuscript H. It is often difficult to decide which of the two groups AB and EH has the better text; sometimes both variants are possible. Since in some cases EH offer the better

[1] Some, if not all, of these excerpts are taken from the homilies of Macarius.

reading, one is tempted to accept their authority even where the text of A and B makes equally good sense. But caution is needed, since there are a number of examples of obvious correction in E and H where AB have preserved the original words. Such corrections in EH are sometimes caused by the corruption of another word that is preserved correctly by A or B or both. Taking this corrupted text for granted, EH have tried to reconstruct the sense by altering another word that is perfectly sound. The decision is often easier when only one manuscript disagrees. But even the agreement of three of our manuscripts against the fourth does not always prove that they are right. There are cases in which beyond doubt only one manuscript has preserved the true reading. However, in evaluating these discrepancies of the two redactions it must be borne in mind that the type of literature we have in the writings of Macarius was meant for wide propagation in monastic circles and that, as in similar cases such as the *Pastor Hermae*, readers who made private copies of these texts felt at liberty to alter or embellish them. This must have been the reason for the separation of the two groups of our manuscript tradition [1].

In spite of this divergence, all our manuscripts ultimately go back to one archetype. This is evident from several passages in which they all show the same corruption. Thus, p. 256, 19 (cod. A has a large lacuna here, but we have the reading of the other manuscript of this group, B) BH read ἐλθὼν, for which E offers γενόμενος, one of his typical arbitrary alterations. After ἐλθὼν there is a space in B, and in the upper

[1] Campbell Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1934) p. 30. H. Schubart in his review of Bonner's edition (DLZ 1934 Heft 28) calls the *Pastor Hermae* a real *Volksbuch*, which has a more fluctuating text than higher types of literature.

margin of the page we read: ὡς ἐπὶ μέστωμα πάντων τῶν καλῶν. τοῦτο προσθῆ· ἔτι (with this punctuation). E and H have the same words but in the text, and both omit ἔτι. The text goes on: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀρνήσεται. Obviously the phrase τοῦτο προσθῆ· ἔτι indicates the word of the text before which the omitted line was to be inserted. Although EH have these words in the text, there can be little doubt that in the common archetype they were written in the margin, as in B, and the words τοῦτο προσθῆ· ἔτι are a direction of the copist to insert them before ἔτι, the word with which the next sentence begins. EH, while they have correctly put the omitted line back into the text, have erroneously carried along with it the copist's direction τοῦτο προσθῆ, (for which H offers προσθεῖναι; probably προσθῆ is an abbreviation for this, written with itacism). A further step in the corruption of the passage was taken with the addition of σπουδασάτω, which was written above the line in H by someone who felt that the infinitive προσθεῖναι needed support, since neither προσθῆ nor προσθεῖναι makes sense at its present place in the text, where it does not belong.

In some places EH have preserved the text of the archetype more faithfully than AB. Thus on p. 253, 23 E fills a lacuna of several pages in AB, and this is confirmed by the Arabic translation. H here offers the same complete text as E and the Arabic, so that there can be no doubt that it was in the common archetype and that its absence in AB is due to mechanical omission or loss of a folium in their source. On p. 267, 19 also E gives a long addition to the text of AB. B (or B^2) indicates a lacuna caused by the loss of one folium by adding a sign at the corrupted place and by leaving a blank space. Here too cod. H and the Arabic version

confirm the text of Ephraem, and H helps in restoring the Greek text, which has suffered some damage in E. But we would be able to detect the two large lacunae in AB even without the help of E, H, or the Arabic translation, now that we know that Macarius' letter is a complete paraphrase of Gregory's treatise, for the parallel passages in Gregory, which I have indicated in the margin of the letter, clearly prove in both passages that a long section of the text of the letter must be lost, since whole pages of Gregory are skipped. This will be an important criterion in restoring a third passage of the letter (277, 14), to which we now turn.

Here the situation is different. At this place too Ephraem adds several pages to the text of B (A does not contain this part of the letter), but this additional text is to be found neither in H nor in the Arab version. We have therefore to depend entirely on inner evidence in judging the authenticity of Ephraem's addition. E inserts the section beginning p. 277, 14 οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐργασίαν and extending to p. 278, 28 διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίδα ἀθάνατον, after the words on p. 277, 10 ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ κεκτημένος i.e. before the last sentence at the end of the previous paragraph (p. 277, 11 οὗτός ἐστιν ... p. 277, 13 κατασβεσθῆναι δύναται), where it appears in cod. B; and after this sentence E again adds another long section (p. 279, 1 καὶ πάθη Χριστοῦ εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἀναλαβεῖν ἔστιν ... 279, 13-4 τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς κληρονόμοι γενώμεθα). It would be easy to explain the omission of one long section, but such a double omission would be somewhat strange. From inner evidence also E's arrangement of the text is unconvincing, because the sentence around which E sandwiches his two additions makes good sense where we now read it in B, but is both syntactically and logically out of place when

removed from its organic context and squeezed in between these two additions of E. Moreover, if we leave this sentence where it stands in B, the two parts of E's long addition fall together to form one continuous and perfect argument. Where it now stands in E, this sentence (οὗτός ἐστιν ... δύναται) not only interrupts the argument but cuts the sentence 278, 24-279, 1-2 ἀναλαβεῖν ἔστιν into two parts, so that its last words (καὶ πάθη Χριστοῦ ... ἀναλ. ἔστιν) are cut off from the body of the sentence to which they belong. The additional words in E clearly form one uninterrupted piece of text. This must be inserted *after* the sentence οὗτός ἐστιν ... κατασβεσθῆναι δύναται (p. 277, 11-14). Evidently this sentence, which now divides it into two parts, had been omitted in the source of E but was added in the margin. Later it was put back into the text, but at the wrong place. We can restore the text by putting this erratic sentence back to the place it occupies in B and by letting the additions made in E follow it. That this is the original order of the text is proved by the parallel passage in Gregory's treatise. As long as the additions made by E in this passage were wanting from the text of the letter, there was a large gap in Macarius' paraphrase of the treatise. There was nothing in his letter to correspond to Gregory p. 85, 21-87, 8/9. The missing paraphrase of this section of Gregory is now supplied by E. But Gregory also confirms our statement that these additions in E originally formed one continuous passage, which followed *after* the sentence οὗτός ἐστιν ... δύναται (p. 277, 11-14), for only if we read them thus do the parallel passages in Gregory follow in the correct order in the margin.

From this passage we must conclude that although AB and EH ultimately go back to the same source, there must have been a common source of AB and H

(to which we can add the Arabic version) that was responsible for this particular omission common to B, H, and the Arabic (A is derived from a manuscript of the B type, but does not contain this part to the work). Indeed there are still other passages where H agrees with AB against E. E on the other hand has preserved a more complete text than BH or the Arabic version in the passage previously discussed (p. 170), and in this instance represents the text as it was before the long omission in the source of (A)BHAr occurred. But it differs from these manuscripts in the many alterations that E alone has introduced into the text of the letter in order to polish its language. After the separation of AB or their special source, more omissions and mistakes occurred, which can be remedied with the help of EH. Under these conditions the procedure of choice in constituting the text can only be eclectic.

I have used the Arabic translation mainly for the verification of the lacunae of the text of AB, now filled by E or H or EH, but I have abstained from trying to use it for the details of textual criticism. The difficulties that Ephraem presents because of his frequent conjectures or arbitrary alterations of the text are multiplied in the case of the Arabic version. The very nature of the translation of a complicated Greek text into a language of radically different morphological and syntactical structure and with a vocabulary corresponding to a different or incommensurable intellectual tradition makes alteration necessary for the translator in almost every line. The Arabic version often reads like a verbose and fumbling paraphrase of the Greek original, and its author has many difficulties in rendering the concepts of his source into his own language, which has no real equivalents for their

definite theological meaning [1]. Obviously the aim of the translator was not to express a fully understood Greek text with 'philological precision' in our sense, but rather to transform an original that he did not always understand into a rhetorically effective Arabic work. The value of this translation for the emendation of the Greek text is not great, as long as we have at our disposal four Greek manuscripts that supplement each other. The same holds for the Syriac version, which is even less useful for this purpose, since it is merely a paraphrase and not a translation of the letter [2]. I must leave it to a future critical edition of this work to go farther in this direction, lest the πάρεργα become greater than the ἔργα [3]. The Greek paraphrase of the letter by Symeon Logothetes [4] (if this tradition be correct) is of some assistance now and then to confirm the reading of one of our manuscripts or to see where the paraphraser prefers to follow his own taste. But on the whole we cannot depend on this kind of literature in case of doubt, for it is evident that the paraphrase was made only because its author thought it necessary to adapt the language of Macarius a little to the taste of the educated classes in Constantinople. He makes the same kind of alterations that we found in 'Ephraem', but he goes even farther and is much more drastic.

[1] This is the judgment of Professor A. F. Nykl. The extent of the influence that 'Macarius' must have exercised through the Arabic version on Christian or Mohammedan Arabic circles remains an open question and should be investigated. Religious mysticism has always formed a bridge between different religions and has never been confined to any one of them.

[2] See p. 160 sq.

[3] It must be expressly stated here, though it goes without saying, that the text of my *editio princeps* of Ps.-Macarius' 'Great Letter' is a provisional one resulting from the practical requirements of my present inquiry.

[4] See p. 158 sq.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GREAT LETTER OF MACARIUS AN EXPANDED METAPHRASE OF GREGORY'S TREATISE

We are now prepared to consider the text of the letter which we have thus restored in its relationship to the treatise of Gregory which is its model. Apparently the close similarity of both works was noticed many centuries ago while they were still both available and read by Byzantine scholars. Our cod. Vat. gr. 1433 (= Z) saec. XIII has the following marginal note besides the title of Gregory's treatise; σημείωσαι ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου μεταπεποίηται, and a faithful copy of Z, cod. Par. gr. suppl. gr. 399, saec. XVI has reproduced this note from it. Z itself was copied from Vat. gr. 1907 (= S), a 12th century manuscript (see my preface p. 19sq.), but in the source the note is missing. It evidently is an original observation made by the scribe of Z in the 13th century, and so far as the mere observation of the similarity of the two works is concerned, it is quite correct. But the mediaeval scholar built a false conclusion on this fact, when he inferred that Gregory's treatise was a retractation of the letter of Pseudo-Macarius (μεταπεποίηται). Regardless of whether we refer his words ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς to the newly discovered letter, which is a metaphrase of Gregory, or to ep. II (Migne), which is in its second part a mechanical compilation from Gregory's treatise, a careful analysis easily

refutes the hasty conclusion of the scholiast. But it is interesting to see that the problem was formulated that early, and we must admit that a Byzantine scholar of the 13th century could not arrive at a different conjecture, since for him St. Macarius was of course really identical with the Egyptian monk, one of the oldest fathers of the desert, who was born three decades before Gregory of Nyssa. The true relationship of both works is particularly evident in the proem of the treatise, which refers again and again to a particular situation in Gregory's life. It was much easier for the author of the letter to assimilate the didactic parts of his source than this personal introduction, but strangely enough he does not hesitate to take over every sentence of Gregory's proem. A juxtaposition of the two texts of Gregory and Macarius will illustrate the relationship of the two works better than any general considerations.

GREGORY	MACARIUS
Εἴ τις μικρὸν ἀποστήσας τοῦ σώματος τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τῆς τῶν παθῶν δουλείας τε καὶ ἀφροσύνης ἔξω γενόμενος ἀδόλῳ καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ λογισμῷ τὴν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατίδοι ψυχήν, ὄψεται καθαρῶς ἐν τῇ ταύτης φύσει τοῦ θεοῦ τήν τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην καὶ τὸ βούλημα τῆς ἐκείνου δημιουργίας. εὑρήσει γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπισκοπῶν συνουσιωμένην τε καὶ συμπεφυκυῖαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ καλόν τε καὶ ἄριστον τῆς ἐπι-	Ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων δεσπότης, ὁ φιλάνθρωπος θεός, ἀγαθὰς ἀφορμὰς τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει χαρίζεται πάντοτε πρὸς τὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω προκοπὴν ἕκαστον λαμβάνειν βουλόμενος, οἷς νεύματι χρηστότητος ὑποτίθεται, εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἕλκων ἀεὶ τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον ἄνθρωπον· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ῥοπὴν ἐχούσης καὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπιθυμεῖν σπευδούσης τὸ

θυμίας ὁρμὴν καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἐκείνης καὶ μακαρίας εἰκόνος, ἧς ὁ ἄνθρωπος μίμημα, τὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ μακάτιον ἔρωτα συνημμένον τῇ φύσει. ἀλλὰ πλάνη τις τῶν ὁρατῶν τούτων καὶ ῥεόντων ἀεὶ διὰ πάθους ἀλόγου καὶ πικρᾶς ἡδονῆς τὴν ἀμελῆ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας ψυχὴν ἀπατῶσα καὶ γοητεύουσα πρὸς κακίαν ἕλκει δεινήν, γεννωμένην τε ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου καὶ γεννῶσαν θάνατον τοῖς ἑαυτῆς ἐρασταῖς.

τῆς κακίας ἀριστερὸν μέρος πανουργίᾳ δεινῇ ταῖς ἁπλουστέραις ψυχαῖς φαντασίαν καλῶν πάντοτε προβάλλεται εἰς ἐπισκότωσιν τῶν ὄντως καλῶν.

διὰ τοῦτο τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ σωτήριον ταῖς ψυχαῖς φάρμακον, ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τοῖς πόθῳ δεχομένοις ἐδωρήσατο χάρις· ὑφ' ἧς λύεται μὲν ἡ γοητεύουσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον πλάνη, τὸ δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς ἄτιμον κατασβέννυται φρόνημα, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας φωτὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖόν τε καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς σωτηρίαν ὁδηγουμένης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣ τὴν γνῶσιν ἐδέξατο.

διὸ <ἡ> τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνεκδιήγητος ἀγάπη γνῶσιν ἀληθείας διὰ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν διδάσκει ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα· Χρηστότητα καὶ παιδείαν καὶ γνῶσιν δίδαξόν με, ἵνα οὕτως ἰσχύσωμεν τὴν πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν ἄγνοιαν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν οὖσαν σαρκικὴν καὶ ἄλογον φρόνησιν... τῷ φωτὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως ὁδηγούμενοι παντελῶς ἐξελάσαι δυνηθῶμεν, σωτηρίας αἰτίαν τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας μεμαθηκότες εἶναι.

ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ταύτην ὑμεῖς ἀξίως λαμβάνοντες τὴν

ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ποθεινότατοι καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ

γνῶσιν καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἔρωτα κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν τῇ ψυχῇ φύσιν εὐθύνοντες συνελήλυθατε προθύμως κοινῇ πληροῦντες τὸν ἀποστολικὸν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι χαρακτῆρα καὶ ποθοῦντες ὁδηγόν τινα παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς τοῦ βίου πορείας λόγον λαβεῖν, ὃς εἰς τὴν εὐθεῖαν ἄξει, δεικνὺς ἀκριβῶς τίς μὲν ὁ τοῦ βίου τούτου τοῖς μετιοῦσι σκοπός, τί δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον βούλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ποία τις πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον ὁδός, ὅπως τε συνεῖναι προσήκει τοὺς ταύτην πορευομένους ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὅπως χρὴ τοὺς προεστῶτας εὐθύνειν τὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας χορόν, οἵοις τε δεῖ πόνοις κεχρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον μέλλοντας ἀνιέναι τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὑποδοχὴν ἀξίας παρασκευάζειν·

ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτον ὑμεῖς ἀπαιτεῖτε τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀπὸ στόματος, ἀλλὰ γράμμασι τυπωθέντα, ὅπως ἐν τούτοις ἔχοντες αὐτὸν ἀποκείμενον καθάπερ ἐκ ταμιείου μνήἀδελφοί, πολλάκις παρ' ἡμῶν ἠτήσατε λόγον ἐκθέσθαι, ὁποῖον χρὴ τρόπον ἔχειν τὸν ἀναχωρήσαντα τῶν σαρκικῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου † ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀποστολικὸν χαρακτῆρα συνελήλυθότας ἱερὸν συγκρότημα καὶ στῖφος ἀδελφότητος γεγενημένον συνεῖναι εὐσεβῶς ἀλλήλοις διὰ παντὸς ἑλομένους, ὅπως τε ἀλλήλων συνδιατριβὴν ποιεῖσθαι δέοι, ποίαν δὲ ἔχειν χρὴ τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν κατάστασιν, τίς δὲ ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ἄκρας ἀρετῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον, ὁποῖός τε ὁ δρόμος καὶ ἀγὼν τῶν εἰς τὸ τέλειον ἐπιθυμούντων φθάσαι καὶ εἰς μέτρον τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας καταντῆσαι σπευδόντων.

καὶ ἵνα μὴ εἰς μακρὸν παρατείνωμεν τὸν λόγον, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα ἠτήσατε παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ γράμματος ὑμῖν χαραχθῆναι εἰς ὑπόμνησιν συνεχῆ ψυχωφελοῦς μελέτης,

μης πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρείας ταύτην † λαμβάνητε, πειρασόμεθα . . . ἐπὶ τῇ παρούσῃ προθυμίᾳ εἰπεῖν, εἰδότες ἀκριβῶς ὡς ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐν ὑμῖν κανὼν τῷ ὀρθῷ τῆς πίστεως πέπηγε δόγματι,

μίαν ἔχων τῆς μακαρίας τε καὶ ἀϊδίου τριάδος θεότητα μηδαμῶς . . . παρηλλαγμένην, ἀλλ' ἐν μιᾷ μὲν οὐσίᾳ, μιᾷ δὲ δόξῃ, τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ βουλήματι νοουμένην τε καὶ προσκυνουμένην κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ὡς προλαβόντες ὑπὸ μάρτυσι πολλοῖς κατεθέμεθα τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῷ λούσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ μυστηρίου πηγῇ πνεύματι· ταύτην συνειδότες ὑμῖν τὴν εὐσεβῆ καὶ ἀδιαμάρτητον τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίαν ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσφαλῶς ἱδρυμένην τήν τε ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν . . . ὁρμὴν ὑμῶν . . . γράφομεν ὑμῖν βραχέα τὰ σπέρματα τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἀπὸ τῶν προδωρηθέντων ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γραφῶν (?) ἐκλεγόμενοι, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ πολλαχοῦ τὰ τῆς γραφῆς

πεπεισμένοι δηλονότι περὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως δόγματος,

μίαν εἶναι θεότητα τῆς προσκυνητῆς καὶ μακαρίας τριάδος, μίαν οὐσίαν, ἓν θέλημα, μίαν δόξαν. μίαν προσκύνησιν προσφέρειν ταῖς τρισὶ τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ὑποστάσεσι, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εὐσεβῶς τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων ὡμολογήσαμεν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς

τὴν πολλὴν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁρμὴν θεασάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἰδόντες δι' ὀλίγων ὑπόμνησιν ποιῆσαι οὐκ ὠκνήσαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν νοημάτων λαβόν-

ῥήματα κατὰ τὴν χρείαν τιθέντες εἰς πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων καὶ εἰς φανέρωσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπολήψεως,

ὅπως ἂν μὴ δοκοίημεν ἀφέντες τὴν ἄνωθεν χάριν νόθα τίκτειν αὐτοὶ φαύλῃ τινὶ καὶ ταπεινῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν λογισμοῖς τύπους εὐσεβείας πλάττοντες τούτους ἐπεισάγειν ἀμαθῶς ταῖς γραφαῖς, φρονήματι ματαίῳ πεφυσημένοι.

τες· ἅμα δὲ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς γραφικὰς μαρτυρίας εἰς πληροφορίαν ἀδιαστάκτου πιστεως παρεθέμεθα,

ἵνα μή τις δόξῃ ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τι λέγειν καὶ ὡς ὑπέρογκα ματαιότητος φρονοῦντας ὑποπτεύσῃ.

Sometimes, of course, the texts agree only in their general trend of thought, particularly at the beginning, rather than coinciding in all details. In order to make their congruency more obvious, I have arranged the texts in two columns and subdivided them into smaller sections, each beginning with the same thought and the same key words. I have spaced these key words, whether identical or slightly varied, which occur in both texts, usually at the same place but sometimes a little before or after in Macarius, so that the reader may note them more easily; but the correspondence of both texts goes far beyond these spaced words, which are intended only as guides. Gregory begins with the idea of the good towards which man's soul strives by nature because God has created him to do so. The impulse towards the good (ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ καλὸν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὁρμή, which he also calls the *erōs* of the soul) is according to Gregory a part of the very essence and nature of

man (συνουσιωμένη, συμπεφυκυῖα, two favorite terms in his philosophical vocabulary). For the author of the letter this derivation is too complicated; he simply states that God gave the human race a good start (ἀγαθὰς ἀφορμὰς) towards the recognition of truth since he wanted it to progress and wished to draw his image to the side of the good. He does not fail to remark in the next sentence that the soul has its tendency towards τὸ καλόν *by nature;* but the sinister power of evil (τὸ τῆς κακίας ἀριστερὸν μέρος) [1] deceives simpler souls by a semblance of the good which blinds them and obscures that which is truly good (τὰ ὄντως καλά). Here as elsewhere he seems to have more than his source, but it is simply that now and then he telescopes or anticipates certain basic concepts of Gregory's treatise. Thus he contracts into one Gregory's two wonderful sentences about the striving for the good being part of man's nature and about the πλάνη which misleads him; but by so doing Macarius simplifies their thought and deprives Gregory's powerful and pointed language of all its epigrammatic effect and color.

The following section begins with the same διὰ τοῦτο or διὸ and introduces the thought that God has given man knowledge of the truth (γνῶσις τῆς ἀληθείας) in order to save him from deception and lead him towards the true good. Macarius, having anticipated this idea in the first section, now has to repeat it here, since this is where he found it in his source and where it really belongs. He identifies this γνῶσις with the Scriptures and adds a biblical quotation of his own, as he rarely does. Usually he follows the biblical quotations in Gregory without changing their place or order.

[1] This expression of 'Macarius' is taken from Gregory's *De virginitate*; his familiarity with Gregory is by no means limited to the treatise *De instituto Christiano.*

The evil of which he speaks is specified in Gregory as τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς φρόνημα 'the pride (or wantonness) of the flesh'. Macarius makes of this ἡ σαρκικὴ φρόνησις, a vulgar misuse of the word φρόνησις, which in the Greek tradition means 'prudence' and is not equivalent to μέγα φρονεῖν, as Gregory's word (φρόνημα) is. In other respects Macarius preserves and only slightly varies the thought of his source that knowledge of the truth 'destroys' (Gregory) or 'wards off' (Macarius) delusion (πλάνη Gregory) or error (ἄγνοια Macarius), which he calls the cause of all evil (αἰτία πάντων τῶν κακῶν, as I have corrected the word καλῶν in Ephraem's text). This knowledge enables man to curb the wantonness of the flesh when his soul is guided by the light of truth towards the Divine and towards its own salvation. The word ὁδηγουμένης (Gregory) is retained by Macarius, as is the catchword σωτηρία, but the rest of the phrase is slightly varied. Instead of ἢ τὴν γνῶσιν ἐδέξατο (Gregory), Macarius writes τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας μεμαθηκότες.

The next paragraph in Macarius again begins with the same words as in Gregory: ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν — ἐπεὶ τοίνυν. 'Since then you have this gnosis,' Gregory says, 'and this divine *erōs* and have come together (συνελήλυθατε) with eagerness, desiring from us a guide for the pilgrimage of your life, to lead you on the right path—a guide who will show you...' Then there follows the *propositio* of his treatise, which he breaks up into a number of indirect questions (τίς μὲν . . . , τί δὲ . . . , καὶ ποία τις . . . , ὅπως τε . . . καὶ ὅπως . . . , οἵοις τε . . .); then, because the beginning of the sentence is already half forgotten, he repeats: ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν . . . 'since then you request (ἀπαιτεῖτε) this kind of λόγος, not by word of mouth but in written form, so that you may remember it later on, I shall try to speak...'

Macarius does not attempt to imitate this sophisticated anacolouthon of his source, but makes the last verb 'you request' follow immediately after the ἐπεὶ τοίνυν of the start of the sentence: 'Since then you have requested (ᾐτήσατε) from us,' he writes, 'an exposition of the character of those who have renounced the pleasures of the flesh and the life of this world and have come together (συνελήλυθότας) in the manner of the Apostles and formed one holy brotherhood'. He then gives the contents of his book in the same way that Gregory does, by a number of indirect questions with ὅπως, τίς, ὁποῖος, etc. But even so he cannot avoid the anacolouthon of his source; he therefore interrupts himself: καὶ ἵνα μὴ εἰς μακρὸν παρατείνωμεν τὸν λόγον, 'this and all that goes with it is what you have requested from us in written form in order to remember it forever.' Gregory's anacolouthon springs from his rhetorical art; that of Macarius results from emergency.

So it goes on. In the following section Gregory refers to the faith which unites the community of monks he is addressing: the fact that he can take it for granted because it is known to him makes it easier for him to comply with their request. He briefly summarizes the quintessence of the orthodox faith: one substance (οὐσία), one glory (δόξα), one will (βούλημα) [1] worshipped in the three hypostases of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. All this is simply repeated in Macarius' version. But observe Gregory's phrase: 'As we have *laid down* our confession once in the presence of many witnesses *in honour of the Holy Spirit* who has washed us in the fountain of the mystery (baptism).' Macarius paraphrases this: 'As we have confessed on the occasion of the sacrament of baptism' and relates the solemn

[1] The 'one will' (ἓν βούλημα) is stressed here as elsewhere in Gregory's writings; it is characteristic of him.

phrase 'in the presence of many witnesses' to the normal witnesses requited at this ritual act. But one cannot attenuate Gregory's words 'laid down our confession' in such a way, particularly since they take on an even stronger meaning when connected with the idea of many witnesses and interpreted as an act giving a full share of honor to the Holy Spirit. I shall show elsewhere in a separate inquiry on Gregory of Nyssa and the Holy Spirit that he is referring here to his own participation in the Council of Constantinople (381), at which the third article was added to the Nicene creed. Macarius has misunderstood his source, because these special events in Gregory's life could hardly be known to him. Had he been familiar with them, it might have been harder for him to take over every line of the treatise.

There is a similar misunderstanding in Macarius' paraphrase of the following paragraph, which contains another reference to Gregory's personal life and works. It is the passage which I have already examined in some detail in the chapter on the date of composition of Gregory's treatise [1]. He says that he is writing for the monks whom he is addressing 'a few seeds of teaching' (σπέρματα τῆς διδασκαλίας) which he will select (ἐκλεγόμενοι) from the writings (γραφῶν) given him previously (προδωρηθέντων ἡμῖν) by the Holy Spirit. I do not want to repeat what I have already said about this corrupt passage. If γραφῶν were correct, the participle ought to be προδωρηθεισῶν; but it is much more probable that the masculine ending of the participle is quite correct and that γραφῶν has been wrongly substituted for another word such as καρπῶν, for Gregory often speaks of 'the fruits bestowed by the Holy Spirit'. At any rate Gregory is speaking of *his*

[1] See supra p. 116 sq.

own writings [1], from which he will make an ἐκλογή for this treatise, and is not referring to the Scriptures, as Macarius interprets it. Scripture (γραφή in the singular) is mentioned in the next line, where Gregory says that secondly, in order to support *his own* ideas, he will in many cases quote the words of the Bible itself, lest anyone suspect him of trying in wanton pride to introduce a new type of faith based only on arguments taken from pagan philosophical tradition [2]. This self-defense of Gregory in his later years, which fits the actual situation of the times so well, when everywhere people were beginning to see traces of Origenism and when the name of Origen had become suspect in most monastic circles, was no longer understood by Macarius when he paraphrased Gregory's work. If the corrupt word γραφῶν was already to be found in the text of the treatise at his time, we can see how easy it was for Macarius to commit this error [3].

Thus we see that Gregory's entire proem has been taken over by Macarius. Since it is impossible to print the entire treatise and the letter in parallel columns, as we have done for the proem, I must leave it to the reader to confirm my result by making his own comparison and to convince himself that wherever we approach the letter it is a true paraphrase of the

[1] See the chapter on the date of composition of the treatise and its relationship to the earlier works of Gregory, p. 118 sq., where we have shown by many instances that in the treatise he is indeed selecting many of the thoughts of his earlier works.

[2] See the same logical antithesis of 'the words of the Scriptures' and Gregory's 'own thoughts' on the subject in *De virg.* cap. XII p. 297, 17 and 22. Perhaps Gregory's reference to his 'own thoughts' seemed too personal to Macarius for him to repeat it in his own name.

[3] Another possibility is, of course, that Macarius did not think it advisable to keep this bit of self-defense in the text since it might cause unnecessary doubts in the minds of the brethren.

treatise. A practical means of control are the biblical quotations in the letter, which, as I have said before, correspond throughout to those in Gregory's treatise and follow one another in the same order. I shall give only one example of this.

GREGORY p. 45, 18

Χρὴ οὖν ἀεὶ προάγειν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον Μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης, ἀληθεύοντες δὲ αὐξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν κατὰ πάντα, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς Μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον, θέλημα τέλειον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων τὸ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας μορφωθῆναι ψυχήν, ἣν εἰς ἄκρον ἀνθίζει κάλλος ἡ τοῦ πνεύ-

MACARIUS p. 236, 21

. . . προκόπτειν αὐτὸν καὶ αὔξειν δεῖ εἰς τὴν τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας συμπλήρωσιν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου· Μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης, ἀληθεύοντες δὲ ἐν ἀγάπῃ αὐξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ὅς ἐστι Χριστός· καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει ὁ αὐτός· Μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον, εἰς τὸ τέλειον τοῦ θεοῦ θέλημα φθάνειν φάσκων

ματος χάρις, τοῖς τοῦ μορφουμένου συγγενομένη πόνοις. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπίδοσις οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν· οὐ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ καὶ ἡδονῇ μετρεῖ τὸ μέγεθος ἡ φύσις, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ· τὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς γεννήσεως ἀνανεώσει μέτρον καὶ κάλλος, ὃ παρέχει διὰ τῆς τοῦ δεχομένου σπουδῆς ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἤρτηται γνώμης. ὅσον γὰρ ἐκτείνεις τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνας, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς συνεκτείνεται μέγεθος, διά τε ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐγκελεύεται λέγων· Ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας· καὶ πάλιν· Βιάζεσθε· βιασταὶ γὰρ ἁρπάζουσι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ Ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται· καὶ Ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν· καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δὲ Δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχομεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα· καὶ Οὕτως, φησί, τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε· καὶ πάλιν Ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

τοὺς εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας καὶ λογικῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ πνεύματος ἐλθόντας. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς σωματικῆς γεννήσεως ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἀκολουθίᾳ καὶ φύσεως νόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρικὴν ἡλικίαν τὸ γεννώμενον παιδίον φθάνει . . .

ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τῆς ἄνωθεν τοῦ πνεύματος γεννήσεως οὐ ταύτην ὥρισε τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, ἀλλὰ πόνον καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ δρόμον μετὰ ὑπομονῆς πολλῆς τῇ αὐτεξουσίῳ προαιρέσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔθετο κατὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου εἰρημένον.

Ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας· καὶ πάλιν· Βιάζεσθε· βιασταὶ γὰρ ἁρπάζουσι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ ὁ ὑπομεμείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται· καὶ Ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν· καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχομεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα· καὶ Οὕτως, φησί, τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε· καὶ πάλιν Ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

The agreement of Macarius with Gregory is quite literal in this section as far as the long series of biblical quotations is concerned. It is only where Gregory's own explanations begin that Macarius tries to express the same thought in his own words. This is the relationship between these two works throughout. The letter follows its source from beginning to end. Wherever there is a lacuna in the manuscripts of Macarius (and there are several, as has been stated before, due to the loss of single folia), Gregory's treatise indicates the loss and the text of Ephraem fills the gap accordingly [1]. Where confusion has resulted from the mechanical transposition of a folium in codex B, the treatise shows the correct order and indicates where the displaced folium belongs. Professor Dörries, after discovering the letter, thought that one whole section of it, which is not in codex A or B but is found in the Arabic version, was an addition by another hand. It is the section dealing with the 'chain of virtues' and that of the corresponding vices [2]. But Gregory's treatise contains this section in exactly the same place, and it is also found in the text of Ephraem. It is therefore genuine beyoud all suspicion [3]. Thus the treatise is our guide for reconstructing the text of the letter and checking its integrity.

But the treatise now also is revealed as the key to the difficult problem of the composition of the letter and the actual intention of its author. The paraphrase of the treatise comes to an end on p. 281 of the letter, where the last sentences of the treatise are rendered in Macarius' own words. But the letter does not end

[1] See Dörries, *loc. cit.* p. 144; in his outline of a reconstruction of the text he used the Arabic version in order to detect and fill the gap.

[2] See *loc. cit.* p. 144 n. 1.

[3] In the treatise Gregory has taken over this paragraph on the μέρη ἀρετῆς from his *De virginitate*; cf. supra p. 128.

here. It adds to this first part—the paraphrase of Gregory's treatise,—20 more pages in the same style and tone, and there can be no doubt that the author of the paraphrase intended it to be incorporated as a part of the greater whole. He has absorbed Gregory's entire treatise into this composition, which can best be described as a vast expansion of Gregory's book. We see now why the author of the letter felt compelled to paraphrase Gregory's treatise. It was partly because he wanted to render the words of his predecessor more easily understandable to his monastic audience, but he would hardly have gone to the trouble of translating Gregory's whole book into his own style if he had not intended at the same time to expand his source considerably and thereby make it his own. It was natural for him to do this by adding his own thoughts on the true ascetic life at the end of the treatise, because this was the easiest place for him to do so and because it was precisely the last part of his source which seemed to make such expansion necessary.

This last section of Gregory's book deals with the questions which were obviously most actual at the time when Macarius wrote his 'letter to the monks.' It will be remembered that in the first part of his treatise Gregory sets forth his ideal of the ascetic life in a more speculative way by defining first of all its aim (σκοπὸς τοῦ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν βίου). After establishing this on the basis of scriptural evidence, he then proceeds in the second half of his work to discuss the eminently practical question of how those who had chosen this way of life should live together in their new community as true brethren and as servants of Christ [1]. Obviously the first part paves the way for the second. The ascetic

[1] See *De inst. Chr.* 41, 16 (τίς . . . ὁ σκοπός) and 18 (ὅπως τε συνεῖναι προσήκει . . .).

perfection of the individual had to be described before Gregory could try to outline the common life of a group of such individuals. The organization of this common life under superiors (προεστῶτες) had been Basil's chief endeavor, and Gregory's treatise, which takes the existence of such groups of cenobites for granted, was written as a guide for their life. It is concerned, first, with the old ideal of ascetic perfection which had been developed by the theologians of the Alexandrian school, and, second, with the problems involved in the new asceticism as organized in the institution of the monastery. For this reason Gregory's book appealed strongly to the following generations of monastic communities in the East: it contained the most concentrated and striking formulation of their main problems. Far from keeping within limits of mere theoretical speculation, it pointed the way to the only possible practical realization of the bold idea of making such a large number of persons cooperate paecefully and joyfully within the new social framework without sacrificing their spiritual individuality entirely to the exigencies of community life, yet without overstressing it or imposing any unwarranted demand on other members.[1]

The letter of Macarius has its unique value in the manner in which it illustrates the effect Gregory's guide-book had on the monastic world of the fifth century. This century saw the rapid expansion of the ascetic movement which Basil and his friends had organized. Along with its enormous growth, the ideas of the founders took on a truly classical importance. The author of the letter would not have turned to Gregory's book and reproduced it entire if he had

[1] Again, as in other instances, both dogmatic and practical, Gregory's approach to the problem is characterized by its perfect balance and avoidance of extremes. See p. 89 n. 1.

thought that he could do better. But at the same time his thorough retractation of his source is a sign that from the point of view of the monastic authorities of the fifth century certain aspects of the problem needed at least a stronger emphasis, if not a more strict formulation. In order not to give an impression of wanting to abandon the tried and proved principles of ascetic life as they had been laid down by the founders, these men tried to build a new kind of discipline upon the old foundations. It is this part of the monastic life which the author of the letter treats more fully in the last 20 pages, the section which he has added to his paraphrase of Gregory's treatise. He seems to speak with great authority, and this is easy to understand, since he feels that he stands in the direct διαδοχή of great men such as Basil and Gregory of Nyssa and only wants to apply their ideas to the new problems which have arisen from the very success of their work.

The transition (p. 281, 14) from the paraphrase to the appendix, as we may call the author's own contribution to the letter, connects the following sentences closely with the previous arguments of the treatise. The treatise ends with the admonition not to indulge overweening pride but to give God the honor and to wait for His reward. The letter, in taking over this thought, refers with the words ὡς προείρηται to the section of Gregory's book (p. 51-52) where this had been stated before, and thereby creates the impression that the following part of the letter is homogeneous with what has preceded. This same kind of backward-reference is found at the beginning of the next section (p. 282, 21): 'Since then there is but one goal for all the brethren alike, the one which has been mentioned before...' This refers to the whole first part of Gregory's treatise, in which he deals with the question of the goal (σκοπός)

of the ascetic life, but especially to the beginning and to the end (p. 41, 16 and 66, 14). Thus the author of the letter repeatedly tries to connect his own part of the work with that in which he paraphrases Gregory. His intention is obviously to shape the letter, which consists of such disparate elements, into a unified work. These references are also characteristic of the repetitious style which we find throughout the part written by the author himself. This is due partly to his lack of ancient rhetorical art, but it is also a part of his own manner of writing, which is that of the edifying sermon. He drives his most important thoughts into the minds of his readers and does not hesitate to reiterate the truth [1].

With this intensive eloquence he concentrates on the problem of the inevitable diversity of the 'gifts of the Holy Spirit' found in different individuals in any large monastic community. This inequality would seem to make for difficulty in maintaining that absolute equality which had been from the beginning one of the foundations of monastic life [2]. If certain differences, not of earthly wealth and honor but of spiritual status, had to be recognized, differences, so to speak, of spiritual age (πνευματικὴ ἡλικία) between the inhabitants of a monastery, corresponding to their individual advancement on the path of perfection [3], the ideal of humility would be threatened. And yet in any community which

[1] Indeed the same kind of backward reference with ὡς προείρηται and similar phrases is also found throughout the longer homilies of 'Macarius'.

[2] Gregory stresses it, for instance, in the *Vita Macrinae* p. 378, 2 sq. and especially 381, 19-27. There he tells how his old mother, a dignified matron of high social standing, lived in the same room with her former serving-girls and ate at the same table with them, without enjoying any of the personal comforts of her former luxurious life.

[3] See *De inst. Chr.* 45, 4 sq., 86, 5.

adopts the highest form of Christian virtue as its supreme goal (an ideal which arose originally from the religious experience of single individuals and was thence taken over by Basil's monastic communities as the supreme standard of the spiritual life), the different stages of perfection at which different individuals of the community have arrived at any given time make comparisons inevitable.

Even Gregory himself had drawn this conclusion; apparently the problem had made itself felt from the very beginnings of monastic life, and in the course of time it must have become more and more actual. Gregory had insisted on absolute humility in the superiors, who he declared should consider themselves fathers and educators of their flock [1]. Pride, the greatest of sins for any soul, is even more fatal in a man who is intended to be the spiritual leader of others. A man in such a position must be especially on his guard against this sin, and among the spiritual group he must excel both in work and in humility (Gr. 69, 6-10). On the other hand, Gregory clearly recognizes the spiritual authority of the superiors (προεστῶτες) over the brotherhood (ἀδελφότης), even to the point of giving them the right to inflict corporal punishment (in later monastic rules this was developed into a whole system of punishments varying in degree). The various treatments of praise, admonition, rebuke, beating (πληγαί) should be applied according to the individual case, in the same manner that a physician uses his therapeutic methods (Gr. p. 69, 19 sq. 70, 6). Gregory faces the fact that there is some danger of a superior misusing his power, but he obviously also takes into account the possibility that his humility might be exploited; he

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 68, 15; 69, 6 sq.; 69, 11 sq.; 69, 17 (ὡς χρηστοὶ παιδαγωγοί).

therefore advises the superior outwardly to teach every one to act in accordance with his place and function in the community, but to remain humble in his heart [1].

What is meant by 'according to everyone's place' (τάξις) in the community is clear from the last part of Gregory's treatise. There he speaks of the struggle which everyone must wage to reach the highest level of perfection attainable by him. Among the spiritual weapons at their disposal, prayer takes the highest rank [2]. There are of course other religious exercises besides prayer, such as fasting, psalmody, etc., but Gregory makes a sharp distinction among them according to their value in the process of the assimilation of the soul to God. He quotes several passages from Scripture to prove that prayer was given its exalted rank by Christ and the Apostles themselves. Accordingly there is a certain spiritual hierarchy with different ranks of perfection in Gregory's ideal monastery, in which those who come closest to realizing in their lives the commandment of the Apostle to pray incessantly (ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε) and to persevere in prayer (εὐχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες) occupy the highest place [3]. They are those who pray day and night and stay awake as long as their bodies permit them. Gregory is aware of their special danger, spiritual pride, but if they persevere in this activity with their consciences fully alert, theirs is the highest possession and the greatest treasure. The superior and the community ought to give room to them to encourage their effort and to sympathize with them in their perseverance in prayer (Gr. 81, 6. 82, 12 sq.). They are the champions of the entire spiritual community, and theirs is the

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 69, 12-16.
[2] *De inst. Chr.* 80, 16-81, 1.
[3] *De inst. Chr.* 80, 4-5.

highest prize (ἆθλον)—phrases which recall the place of honor athletes were given in the ancient Greek polis, though in the Christian community it must be left to Christ to bestow the honors which they deserve, the crown of eternal life. Here on earth they set the pace for the rest of their community. They are the great living examples.

After the great heroes of prayer there come those who have not yet reached the peak of the full intensity of prayer (Gr. 87, 9 sq.) and who still lack the driving eagerness and power of this virtue which dedicates man's whole life to the contemplation of God. Those who belong to this second category must work and serve eagerly, not for the sake of human praise and honor and not as though they were serving other persons, but as servants of Christ. Let no one say that he is unable to do some good, or that there is any person of good will who wants to be saved but is not able to attain his goal. Christ does not ask anyone to do what is impossible (Gr. 87, 21. 88, 13). Here we see a serious difficulty which arose in early monastic life from the fact that the community necessarily comprised people of widely differing spiritual gifts and of widely different habits and training. Gregory's distinction of the various functions of different individuals points in the direction which we see the author of the letter pursuing. To him we now return.

He underscores with great earnest the difference stated by Gregory between those more advanced in prayer and those still in their spiritual infancy, a difference which evidently caused much discord and bad feeling in the monastic communities of his time. Thus we see that Gregory's warning had not been sounded without reason and that not all his high hopes had been fulfilled. The pride of those who through

ceaseless prayer had arrived at a higher stage of spirituality and the discontent and muttering (γογγυσμός, a favorite word of the author, see Phil 2, 14, I Petr 4, 9) of those who had to cook the meals and scrub the floors threatened to disrupt the unity of the brotherhoods and created within them a 'social problem' similar to that of the early Greek city-states in the age of social revolution. That was exactly what Gregory had foreseen and had hoped to prevent by his plea for mutual love and assistance. The author of the letter takes up this idea of his source and tries to give it new vigor and convincing power. The foundation of the common ascetic life is, according to him, the simplicity and love and humility which the Apostle praises, and this spirit is irreconcilable with the inflated (φυσιοῦσθαι) pride of the more advanced and with the grudging and muttering of the spiritually weak. Let us surpass others in humility, and let us consider our neighbor our master, as befits the true imitator of Christ; for if we indulge in such weakness, neither can he who is advanced in prayer devote himself undisturbed to quiet contemplation, nor can he who serves (διακονῶν) do his job efficiently [1].

Here the author recurs to the old story which St. Paul uses in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (12), the story about the strife between the parts of the body [2]. It is the famous fable which Menenius Agrippa once told the Roman plebeians who had abandoned the city in discontent and emigrated to the Mons Sacer. The speech as recorded by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Zonaras is hardly historical. In reality the three historians and St. Paul took the story from a much earlier tradition,

[1] Macarius, *Great Letter* p. 285, 19-286, 15.
[2] Macarius, *loc. cit.* p. 286, 16 sq.

and it has long been recognized by classical scholars that it has its origin in a philosophical diatribe on the famous political topic of civic concord (περὶ ὁμονοίας) [1]. But it is highly significant that it recurs here, when another social organism comparable to the ancient polis had arisen in the early Christian monasteries. The basis on which this new ideal community was established was different from that of the old city-state, of course, but even so the essential problem of its social structure and of the mutual cooperation of its members was the same. Thus it requires and gives birth to a new form of social virtue. The great issue at stake is that of the individual and the whole (p. 282, 21 sq.) Only through the Christian virtues of simplicity, love, humility, and joyful service can the new community be built and maintained and its disparate elements be fitted together (συναρμοσθῆναι). For only so will the spiritual advantage of the more advanced compensate the spiritual deficiency of the weaker and the physical advantage of those who work and serve compensate the physical deficiency of those who enjoy leisure for prayer. Only so will their life be like that of the angels,

[1] On the source problem see W. Nestle in *Klio* 21 (1927) p. 350 sq. (reprinted in *Griechische Studien*, Stuttgart 1948, p. 502-16). The report of the three historians about Menenius Agrippa's speech to the plebeians goes back to the same historiographical source, a Roman annalist who had made up the speech, taking the story of the warring parts of the body from a philosophical author of the Hellenistic age, in all probability a Stoic. St. Paul could have known it from a Stoic source, if it was not already wide-spread by his time. Nestle's idea is plausible, that the image of the warring parts of the body was originally used by an earlier (sophistic?) author Περὶ ὁμονοίας to recommend and illustrate his organic concept of the community of the polis. St. Paul refers briefly to the story more than once, but his most explicit reference to it is I Cor. 12. On the concord (ὁμόνοια) of the brotherhood see *De inst. Chr.* 67, 6, at the very beginning of the second part of the treatise. It is a speech on Christian ὁμόνοια.

as the author writes, thus confirming and expanding what Gregory had said in his treatise. And only so will they walk over snakes and basilisks and tread on lions and dragons (p. 285, 17). There is a social law of the mutual dependence of the great and the small in the spiritual world also (p. 285, 21 sq.), without it all effort is in vain. For as long as there is schism in the body it cannot be edified spiritually, and the will of God cannot be fulfilled in us.

Thus the author makes a very effective use of the elements of a theory of the social structure of the church which we find in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. These ideas of St. Paul had grown out of the concrete problems connected with building up the early Christian ἐκκλησίαι, and it is somewhat surprising that Gregory, in writing his treatise on how members of the early monastic communities should live together, did not refer to this passage. The author of the letter, in his eagerness to utilize every bit of biblical testimony for his work, has noticed this omission. Gregory had not failed, of course, to refer to the preceding passage of St. Paul concerning the different 'charismata' and the one spirit [1], and this seems to have prompted 'Macarius' to make use of the following story of the rival parts of the body for his purpose also. It must be admitted that this is a strong argument, which, he says, is as applicable to the community of the monastery as it was to that of the early Christian congregation [2].

There follows another expansion of his source, and this argument, too, is conspicuous by its absence in

[1] See *De inst. Chr.* 60, 10, where Gregory refers to I Cor. 12, 4 sq.

[2] See Macarius, *Great Letter* p. 288, 19. Basil had already compared the life of the monastic community to that of the early Christians *Reg. fus. tr.* quaest. VII fin. *P.G.* XXXI 933 C.

Gregory's book. This is the gospel story of Mary and Martha [1]. In applying it to a situation such as the letter presupposes, the author, who has to stress throughout the idea of equality and balance in the social structure of the monastic community, once again asserts the higher spiritual rank of prayer and contemplation as against mere service and practical work. Mary has chosen the better part, and there should be no doubt about first and second rank in the spiritual hierarchy. But the author counterbalances this statement by adding at once that the Lord made it sufficiently clear that service (διακονία) is 'not a thing of nought' by Himself sharing Martha's work and washing His disciples' feet as an example to them. 'Let him who would be first be the servant of all' [2]. Only if everyone is permitted to put whatever special gift he has to the use of the whole community will it be strong, and only thus will justice be done to all. But he adds the important reference to the passage in Acts [3] where the Apostles, who had originally served at the common table of the early Christians and distributed the food, declare: 'It is not meet for us to serve at table, but let us select men full of the Holy Spirit for this practical service, and let us hold to the service of the Word and to prayer'. At the end of his argument (289, 4 sq.) the author once more cautions against every externalization of prayer; for in vain are all mere bodily habits and gestures (σωματικὰ ἔθη, σχηματισμοί), whether of prayer, psalmody, fasting, or manual service, if they are not done only to the glory of God. To put our trust in these 'physical works of justice' would be utter self-delusion. It is only if the love of God leads

[1] Macarius, *Great Letter* p. 287, 16.
[2] Marc. 9, 35.
[3] Act. 6, 2.

us in all our actions that we can fulfill the commandments with the help (συνεργία) of the Holy Spirit and become the 'sons of light', heirs of the promise, and brothers of Christ. With a final reference back to 'all we have said before' as the only road leading to this summit of Christian perfection, the letter seems to have reached its end, including in this 'all' both the paraphrase of Gregory's treatise and the arguments of the author himself appended to it.

Indeed, in the Greek version which has come down to us under the name of Ephraem Syrus the letter ends at this point [1]. But in both the Greek version of codex B, which goes under the name of Macarius, and in the Arabic version, a long section follows beginning with the words: 'But since some people in their ignorance object that in our vanity we propound exaggerated and impossible ideas, and that we have the illusion of being able to surpass human nature with the goal (σκοπός) which we have placed before you from the Scriptures ... and since they say that no human being can ever fulfill the demands which the Scriptures make on him, either with respect to perfect purity and liberation from the passions, or with respect to man's participation in and being filled with the Holy Spirit (for the Lord, they say, spoke thus only to put fear into man ... it being impossible for human nature to rise to His demands), it is necessary to come to our Lord's assistance in this matter and to show briefly what great harm those people incur who have no faith in the Holy Scriptures but vainly follow the assumptions of their own minds, and, on the other hand, what great profit those who put their trust in the teachings of the Spirit secure for themselves' [2].

[1] Macarius, *Great Letter* p. 291, 8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 292, 6.

Again it is obvious that in adding this polemic the letter follows the model of Gregory, who (p. 87, 19) writes towards the end of his treatise: 'And let no one use as a pretext against a serious effort to do good deeds the argument that he is by nature unable to attain those things which save the soul, for God does not ask His servants to do the impossible; and so profusely and richly has he manifested the love and goodness of His deity to all that He has given everyone ... the ability to do some good, and no one who makes an earnest effort to attain his own salvation is deprived of the faculty to achieve it'. And again (p. 87, 21): 'God demands nothing impossible'. After holding out his lofty ideal of ascetic perfection to the monks, Gregory inevitably had to face the objection that this life of consummate virtue transcends the limits of human nature. Evidently the author of the letter also thought it imperative to meet this sceptical argument, and he does so at the same place—at the end of the letter. But his experience must have told him that much more was needed than Gregory had said on this point.

In the meantime—in the course of a few generations—thousands of men and women had joined the 'philosophical band', and it was inevitable that among these numbers there should be many who were drawn to the security of the monastic life without taking the commandment of perfection too seriously. There must even have been discussions between them and the adherents to a more severe concept of ascetic life in which the latter quoted the words of the Scriptures about the struggle for sanctification and perfection, whereas the former tried to rationalize the austere commandments of Christ and the Apostles merely as tools of pedagogical psychology. To them, 'apatheia' was an ideal which could never be

fully achieved, and they insisted that no man on earth is perfect. They remind us of the ancient Greek discussions on the subject of perfect virtue which we read in the old poets. Simonides of Ceos, to whom Plato refers in the *Protagoras* [1], a work concerned with the same age-old problem, had written:

> ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι χαλεπόν,
> χερσί τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ
> τετράγωνον ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον.

And he had added that under certain tragic conditions this χαλεπόν almost inevitably becomes an ἀδύνατον. We see from the letter of Macarius how in the monastic life of the fourth and fifth centuries the discussion of this old problem gains new momentum. This was so because the old demand for perfect areté had been renewed in the church of that great age, even if the meaning of the word had changed.

The author of the letter takes issue with the tendency toward increasing laxity in the monastic communities for which he is writing. He expands Gregory's few lines on this subject into ten pages. He summarizes his thoughts in a drastic formulation of what he calls the three benefits of faith in the Scriptures and the

[1] Plat. *Protag.* 339a (= Sim. frg. 4 Diehl). See also Simonides frg. 37 Diehl, which elaborates on the same idea of perfect virtue, which the poet visualizes as a deity living on an almost inaccessible mountain peak. Only a few hardy climbers reach the top after indescribable effort. The words used to suggest this effort very much resemble Gregory's ἄθλος, κάματος and ἱδρῶς where he speaks of the struggle for true *areté*. One is also reminded of Hesiod's τῆς ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν. No doubt Gregory knew all these classical poems by heart. There is a faint echo of them in Macarius, but it is very improbable that he was brought up in a truly classical tradition. His rather stereotyped references to Socrates, Plato and Aristotle show that if he knew them at all it was only from the textbook.

three corresponding losses which devolve upon those who lack this faith. The three benefits [1] are that 1) they accept the Holy Scriptures and the words of the Lord as divine truth, like loyal servants; 2) they have ever before their eyes the perfect goal (σκοπός) of Christianity, and with their eyes fixed upon it they become braver and nobler every day by their ceaseless struggle and untiring effort to attain it; 3) having this goal of perfection before their eyes, they also have unshakable faith in the words of Christ that he who has really devoted himself to the service of God must attain the full measure of 'apatheia' and freedom. On the other hand, there are three damages or losses (βλάβαι or ζημίαι) of the opposite category [2]: 1) they do not trust the divine inspiration of the Scriptures and thus make God a liar; 2) they do not have the higher goal of Christianity before them and so have not yet arrived at true perfection, but thinking that they are of some importance they neither hunger and thirst after righteousness nor wage the hard struggle for it, since they are inflated by false pride and become lazy and indolent; 3) they believe that they stand on firm ground because they have acquired a few virtues, but they do not keep in mind the perfect ideal of Christianity, which constantly warns its adherents that they have not yet attained it; and so they cannot acquire true humility, poverty, and contrition of heart (σύντριψιν), since they rely too much on external gestures and habits or on a few good deeds which they have done.

To the distinction of these three kinds of benefit or loss which are the fruit of a strict or of a lax observation of the ascetic ideal, the letter adds some further considerations of a similar nature which it would only

[1] See Macarius, *Great Letter* p. 292, 20.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 294, 16 sq.

be tiresome to reproduce [1]. The achievement of a servant who goes about his work without hesitation, even if he cannot fulfill his task completely, will be greater than that of the lazy servant who begins by saying that it is impossible for him to do all this work and wastes much of his time in procrastination [2]. It should not be forgotten either that the high demands which the ascetic life makes on everyone do not imply the belief that human nature can accomplish them unaided [3]. On the contrary, they are based on faith in the divine assistance which will be given to a man of good will and in the power of God which makes possible the impossible. Those who do not have this faith are like the Israelites who did not enter the land of rest (κατάπαυσις) but died in the desert after long years of wandering and hardship because of their lack of faith in the divine promise [4]. The last section recapitulates what the author thinks he has proved in his letter. He once more defines the supreme ideal of the ascetic life as a long and laborious path of gradual perfection and sanctification, which finally leads those who adopt it to the perfect love of God, which will give them liberation from their passions, the much-desired 'apatheia', and with it the divine rest [5].

All these additions made by the author of the letter after his paraphrase of Gregory's treatise occupy about half of the space of the paraphrase itself. They form, in other words, a very substantial part of the letter. But they are made in the spirit of the treatise and of Gregory's theological ideas. Indeed, they could have been made by Gregory himself, and

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 295, 21.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 295, 21-296, 12.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 297, 4 sq.
[4] *Op. cit.* p. 298, 10 sq.
[5] *Op. cit.* p. 300, 16 sq.

perhaps some of them should have occurred to him when he was writing his book. The style is the same in the last part of the letter as in the first. That is to say, the author of the letter has succeeded in making out of this traditional material and his own thoughts and additions a work which, at least at first sight, gives the impression of a unified whole. He seems to have hoped that in this newly expanded and sermonizing form the valuable little work might serve its purpose again, and perhaps better than before, as a spiritual guide to the true ascetic life. A closer comparison of the final section with the first part of the letter cannot here be attempted. It shows that it is impossible to conclude from the absence of the final polemical part (p. 291, 8 sq.) in the Ephraem version [1] that this part was originally lacking and was added by another writer. The language is absolutely the same throughout the letter, as was said before; and even if the author added these last few pages at a later time, prompted perhaps by objections with which his book had met, it still remains his own work. When the excerptor of Macarius, who made out of the text of the letter the two opuscula *On Perfection* and *On Prayer*, was perusing this work, the final section was already in its present place [2].

The points of difference between Gregory's treatise and the letter are not of a dogmatic or theological nature, but are more stylistic. For example Gregory, as in his former ascetic writings, generally speaks in this treatise of the ascetic life as 'the philosophical life' and of the monks and monastic communities as 'the philosophical band' or 'those who have chosen the philosophical life'. For these terms the letter substitutes

[1] See supra p. 162.

[2] *De orat.* (*P.G.* XXXIV, 853-65) corresponds to *Great Letter* p. 268, 20-fin.

other less objectionable words. Thus, p. 41, 20 Gregory says that in his book he will answer the question which the monks had asked him, i.e. how the superiors should lead the philosophical band. Instead of this the letter writes: 'how you should form a holy team and group (ἱερὸν συγκρότημα καὶ στῖφος) of brethren'. The same phrase is used p. 234, 4. In other passages the letter unhesitatingly uses the technical term μοναστήριον, which Gregory never seems to apply. So p. 287, 4 οἱ ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις ἀδελφοί, a passage which clearly shows that the author is writing not only for the brethren of his own monastery but for a larger group of monasteries. This change of terminology was quite natural and continued as time went on. Thus the author likes the older word προεστῶτες, which Gregory uses for 'superiors', and Macarius keeps it in the text, but the excerptor of the letter in the opuscula replaces this word by ἐξηγούμενοι, which at his time was the normal term for 'superior' in the monastic hierarchy [1]. Gregory's word προεστῶτες is in agreement with Basil's terminology in the *Rules*.

Professor Dörries thinks [2] that the 'monasteries' and the 'superiors' of whom the letter speaks must have been linked together by some special tie of common conviction, and he suggests that this link was their alleged Messalian heresy, traces of which he finds in the Macarian writings in general and therefore expects to detect also in this most important document of their ascetic doctrine. He concludes this especially from the fact that the author of the letter is addressing a whole group of monasteries with apparent authority and that he appeals in particular to the rank of 'those who pray' (der Stand der 'Beter'), whose rights and duties

[1] ἐξηγούμενοι cf. *De perf.* (*P.G.* XXXIV, 848 B). See p. 83.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 156.

he discusses (Dörries p. 156). These conclusions have been questioned by W. Völker, who could find in these works nothing that prevents us from deriving their essential contents from the classical patristic tradition[1]. This opinion, though formulated only as a general impression, has been proved correct by our analysis of the letter of Macarius, since we have discovered its only source to be the treatise of Gregory of Nyssa. The most extensive theological document which we possess under Macarius' name must therefore now be considered free from every suspicion of Messalian heresy. The plurality of monasteries which it addresses was already addressed in its source, and the authority of the writer was that of Gregory of Nyssa. The 'praying monks' who are distinguished from the 'serving brethren' (διακονοῦντες) are not the sect of the 'Euchitai', as Dörries suggests, but they are two different classes of monks, already distinguished and recognized in the treatise of Gregory[2]. The polemic of the final part of the letter against mere external

[1] W. Völker in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1943 col. 132 sq.: 'Ich habe von Anfang an Villecourts These vom messalianischen Ursprung der sog. Makarius-Homilien mit unverhohlenem Misstrauen gegenübergestanden und ich bin durch das umfangreiche Buch von Dörries ... nicht von meiner Skepsis geheilt worden. Mir erscheint das Fundament viel zu schmal, um auf grund einiger weniger Übereinstimmungen zwischen den Homilien und der Liste des Johannes Damascenus das ganze umfangreiche Material den Messalianern zuzuschreiben und dann von hier aus deren Bewegung zu charakterisieren, eine grosse Führerpersönlichkeit auftauchen zu lassen, von der wir sonst nichts wissen, und diese nicht allein in Widerspruch zur Kirche und zum Mönchtum, sondern auch zum Vulgärmessalianismus ... zu setzen'.

[2] *De inst. Chr.* 79, 14 sq., especially 80, 2 sq., 81, 6 sq. οἱ εὐχόμενοι and οἱ λοιποί contrasted; 82, 15 and 17 οἱ εὐχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἔτι νήπιοι contrasted; the same distinction, cf. 87, 9. At 87, 13 the second group are called οἱ διακονοῦντες or ἐργαζόμενοι.

virtues and works has nothing to do with the Messalian heresy and its extreme spiritualism. It is the spiritualism of Gregory of Nyssa, who in his treatise makes the same attacks on the laxity and externalization of certain kinds of monastic practice and insists on the power of a living faith and true Christian charity.

This result stands independently of the question of who the author of the letter was. If his name was not Macarius but Symeon, as the Arabic version[1] suggests, this Symeon cannot be the leader of the Messalians with whom he is identified by Dörries. The only way to save the Messalian hypothesis would be to detach the letter, i.e. the main work of 'Macarius' (or Symeon), from the rest of his works and to deny the identity of its author with the writer of the homilies. But even though our final judgement on this point must perhaps be postponed until the critical edition of Macarius is published, there seems to me a strong deterrent to such a solution to the problem, now that the letter has been revealed in its true light. Both content and style of the homilies bespeak the identity of their author with the writer of the letter, although we have to take into account the possibility of an intrusion of secondary material into this large collection, which varies considerably in our manuscripts.

[1] I do not know whether or not there is a Slavic translation of the *Great Letter*, as there are of other works of Macarius. These have recently been examined by R. A. Klostermann, *Die slavische Überlieferung der Makariusschriften* (*Göteborg's Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar* S.F. Ser. A Bd. 4 no. 3). These Slavic translations give the name of the author as Symeon, like the Arabic versions of the homilies and the *Great Letter*.

CHAPTER FOUR

GREGORY OF NYSSA AND THE THEOLOGY OF THE SPIRITUAL HOMILIES OF 'MACARIUS'

The rediscovered treatise of Gregory of Nyssa has proved a key to a real understanding of the *Great Letter* of 'Macarius' to the monks. This result prompts us to apply our newly-acquired knowledge, namely that Gregory was the great authority for Macarius in matters of ascetic theology, to the other works of Macarius, the so-called spiritual homilies. For even if he had a special reason for using Gregory's treatise on the ascetic life so extensively in a didactic letter dealing with the same subject, it would be strange if no trace of Gregory's influence were to be found in the homilies in which he addresses a similar audience, as can be seen from the nature of their contents. In the letter we see that Gregory's language and thought have helped greatly in shaping the thought and theological terminology of the author. If the same could be said of the homilies, this would be of decisive importance for establishing the identity of the author of the letter and of the homilies that our manuscripts have preserved under the name 'Macarius'. It would also confirm the impression that the dependence of Macarius on Gregory of Nyssa goes far beyond a mere occasional borrowing, and this in turn would explain the fact that the author tried to revive the Gregorian tradition in his monastic community by paraphrasing and expanding Gregory's

treatise *in toto*. The recognition of Gregory of Nyssa as Macarius' chief authority would greatly contribute to the solution of the problem of the allegedly Messalian, i.e. heretic, origin of Macarius' theological views. A full analysis of all the homilies being beyond the scope of this book, I shall content myself with examining a number of these works; for it will not be necessary to examine every page of Macarius meticulously in order to arrive at a clear result. I regret that for this I shall have to depend on Migne's edition, which is very incomplete and offers a defective text; but for the purpose of this inquiry it will perhaps form a sufficient basis.

The letter has shown that even where Macarius is paraphrasing a text of Gregory of Nyssa from beginning to end, he adds much of his own [1]. His thought can be said to take Gregory as point of departure and then to expand and vary its model. The same seems to be true for many of the homilies, though the influence of Gregory is not equally conspicuous in all parts of them. To start with *Hom.* XL, which is concerned with external *askesis* and its various activities [2], the author asks which of them is most important and therefore first in rank. The answer is that all virtues are linked with one another (ἐκδέδενται πᾶσαι). For like a spiritual chain (πνευματικὴ ἅλυσις) they depend one upon the other: prayer upon charity, charity upon joyfulness, joyfulness upon meekness, meekness upon humility, humility upon service, service upon hope, hope upon faith, faith upon obedience, obedience upon simplicity. On the other hand there is a corresponding chain of vices, likewise dependent one upon another. We are familiar with this idea of the

[1] See p. 188 sq.
[2] *P.G.* XXXIV, 761-68.

chain from Gregory's treatise (see supra p. 128), and have found it again in the *Great Letter* of 'Macarius' [1]. He took it from Gregory, but, as we have shown, in copying the words of his source he reversed the order of the virtues that he found in Gregory and in a somewhat scholastic manner added the parallel chain of the vices, whereas Gregory only suggests the latter [2]. The order and names of both virtues and vices are the same in the letter (and in the excerpt *De perfectione* that was made from it, see supra p. 159) and in the fortieth homily. Thus Macarius' differences from Gregory are consistent throughout, but these differences are only slight and are characteristic of his manner of using his source. Like the letter, the homily goes on to say that the corner-stone of all good effort (κεφάλαιον πάσης σπουδῆς ἀγαθῆς) and the peak of all achievement (κορυφαῖον τῶν κατορθωμάτων) is persistence in prayer (προσκαρτερεῖν τῇ εὐχῇ) [3]. Again we can trace this thought back to Gregory's treatise, in which prayer is given the same prominent rank among all the activities of a monk [4]. All other virtues can be acquired by it for prayer establishes the communion of the soul with God, the source of all spiritual power, and links it with Him in ineffable love. He who compels himself to persevere in prayer is inflamed to divine *erōs* and ardent desire for God by the spiritual love in him and receives the grace of the sanctifying perfection of the Spirit [5]. Each of these terms occurs many times in Gregory's writings and in the treatise, where they are

[1] See Greg. *De inst. Chr.* 77, 15-78, 21; Mac. *Gr. L.* 268, 1 sq.

[2] Cf. *De inst. Chr.* 78, 6 καθάπερ ἀπεναντίον ἡ πονηρία τοὺς ἑαυτῆς φίλους διὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῆς μερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάγει κακίαν.

[3] See *Hom.* XL, col. 764 B, section B′.

[4] Cf. *De inst. Chr.* 78, 8 sq.

[5] *Hom.* XL, col. 764 B.

found together with the theory of the chain: the προσκαρτερεῖν τῇ εὐχῇ, the ἐκκαίεσθαι ἔρωτι, the terms ἔρως and πόθος with reference to the mystical relationship of the religious soul to God, the concept of συνάφεια, another favorite word of Gregory for the disposition of the ascetic mind (διάθεσις τοῦ νοῦ) with regard to God, and the idea that prayer is the activity of the mind that by its ἐνέργεια sets in motion the process of sanctification and perfection (ἁγιαστικὴ τελειότης) through the reception of the Spirit [1]. Likewise the phrase 'to compel oneself' to persevere in prayer (ἀναγκάζων ἑαυτόν) is typically Gregorian, though he generally uses the synonym βιάζεσθαι instead, which Macarius takes over from him many times in the letter [2].

In the following part of the homily there are a number of questions and answers appended to this introductory section. This is the well-known method of teaching that is frequently found in both pagan and Christian literature during the period in which the latter arose [3]. In the homilies of Macarius it is used many times. Some of these so-called homilies are real sermons, but others are in reality mere starting points (ἀφορμαί) for a discussion in the question and answer style, while still others consist exclusively of questions and answers. It is obvious that this is not merely a literary form that the author has chosen at will, but that this mixture of homilies with questions and answers reflects the actual teaching of the spiritual leader of a monastic community. The questions in

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 78, 8 and 13; 78, 15-16; 78, 11-12.

[2] *De inst. Chr.* 46, 17.

[3] See the *Solutiones* of Priscian the Neoplatonist. H. Dörries *op. cit.* p. 451-470 illustrates this method of πεῦσις and ἀπόκρισις from the *Rules* of Basil and the Ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις of Anastasius Sinaita.

Hom. XL all arise from the preceding words about the 'chain of virtues', which, as we have shown, are taken from Gregory's treatise. The author accepts this theory of sanctification offered him by the monastic tradition, but he is confronted with several problems implied in it. One of them is this: Since some people sell their property and free their slaves and fulfill the commandments, but do not try to receive the Spirit in this world, do they by living in this way not enter the Kingdom of Heaven? [1] The author in his answer calls this a subtle question (λόγος λεπτός). It gives him an opportunity to introduce another important idea of his theory of the ascetic life, likewise taken from Gregory of Nyssa. There are people, he says, who think that there is one Kingdom and one hell. They are, so to speak, the Either-Or thinkers of late ancient asceticism. But, the author goes on, we say that there are many degrees (βαθμοί) and many differences (διαφοραί) and measures (μέτρα), not only in the Kingdom of God but also in hell. Just as the soul is active not only in one part of the body but in all its parts, just as it works not only in the brain but also moves the feet, so the Deity comprehends all creatures from heaven down to the abyss below, dwells in them, and is present everywhere in its creation even though it exists apart from creation because of its immeasurable nature. It attends to all men and governs everything according to reason (κατὰ λόγον). And since there are those who pray without knowing what they are seeking, and others who fast and others who persevere in service, God in His justice gives each of them his reward according to the measure of his faith. For what they do, they do because of their fear of God. But not all are 'sons' or 'kings' or 'heirs'. There are in this

[1] *Hom.* XL, col. 764, section Γ'.

world murderers, fornicators, and robbers, and there are others who distribute their goods to the poor. The Lord attends to both kinds (προσέχει). To those who do good he gives rest (ἀνάπαυσις), and so they have their reward. There are large measures, and there are small measures (μέτρα); and there are differences even of light and of glory. There are punishments of hell for those who have committed small sins as well as for poisoners and robbers. Those who say that there is only one Kingdom and only one hell and that there are no degrees (βαθμοί) are wrong. Think of all the people who crowd the theaters and devote themselves to other kinds of vain pursuit! And think of those who are just beginning to pray and to fear God! God attends to both, and as a just judge He prepares rest and peace for the one and punishment for the other.

We are familiar with the idea of steps or degrees (βαθμοί) in the soul's ascent to perfection from Gregory's treatise and other ascetic works. There we find it said also that the Spirit assists man according to the degree or measure of his faith and to the stage of his 'spiritual age' (μέτρον ἡλικίας πνευματικῆς) [1]. The author of the homily is firmly rooted in this kind of thought and finds great encouragement in it. For where there are steps, there is progress, even if it be slow and gradual. The complementary idea to the 'steps' is that of the combat, the ever renewed effort (πόνος, ἀγών) that we find stressed so often in Gregory's treatise and in his other works on the gradual progress of the spiritual life, the *Vita Moysis*, the *In Psalmos*, the *In Cantica*, and the rest [2]. We find it also in the next section (E') of the homily. But although the author follows Gregory in his thought, the power of

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 44, 20 sq.; 45, 7 sq.; 46, 7-15.
[2] See p. 141.

his own imagination prompts him to invent ever new images to illustrate these ideas. The idea that life is an ἀγών reminded every citizen of the late ancient Hellenized world of the horse and chariot races in the hippodrome at Constantinople or Antioch, and the famous image of the chariot of the soul and its two horses in Plato's *Phaedrus* associated itself easily with the idea of an ἀγών in the soul of man. Macarius visualizes a theater in the human heart where evil spirits wrestle with the soul, with God and His angels as spectators. He sees new tempting thoughts (λογισμοί) rising every hour in the soul, springing in part from the wickedness of man's nature. For the soul harbors many hidden thoughts (ἀπόκρυφοι λογισμοί), which it begets and bears on the spur of the moment. The letter of Macarius has shown us that this whole trend of thought came to the author from Gregory's ascetic theology, in which the division of visible deeds and hidden thoughts (λογισμοί) and the corresponding division of sins (ἁμαρτήματα) plays an important part [1]. The author of the homily, who betrays his (indirect?) knowledge of the 'philosophers of the world' throughout his sermons and expressly refers to them by name now and then (he names Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates) [2], visualizes the spiritual chariot race of the soul in which the νοῦς acts as charioteer (ἡνίοχος), holding the reins of the λογισμοί and running against the chariot of Satan to

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 49, 17; 50, 11-17; 53, 12; 54, 3. In these and other similar passages, either λογισμοί are opposed to πράξεις or bad and good thoughts are distinguished and the bad thoughts classified as sins like bad deeds. Both ideas occur often in Gregory's other works also.

[2] *Hom.* XLV, col. 785 D, section B′ σοφοὶ κατὰ κόσμον, XLII, col. 769 C, section A′ οἱ σοφοὶ τοῦ κόσμου Ἀριστοτέλης ἢ Πλάτων ἢ Σωκράτης. The order of these great philosophers is not exactly that which we would find in the fourth century.

overturn it [1]. This lively imagination carries the author away more than once and suggests to him realistic pictures that have a purely spiritual meaning but that could nevertheless be easily misunderstood by people of a more earthbound and materialistic habit of thought. One wonders whether some of the heretic ideas that have more recently been attributed to him were not of this kind. A mystic of his type, i.e. a man not only dwelling in heaven but standing with both feet on the hard ground of this earth and wrestling with the terrifying realities of human sin and corruption, must feel the presence of the Devil in the soul of man just as keenly as the presence of the Holy Spirit. But he also feels strongly the impossibility of two such hostile factions sharing the same camp. The realistic symbolism of his language, which has aroused dogmatic suspicion, invariably springs from the dramatic way in which he visualizes the battle of good and evil in the soul of man [2].

The second question (Z') is also connected with the practical application of the theory of degrees or steps (βαθμοί) to the monastic life and its activities. If we accept Gregory's idea that the pilgrimage of the true ascetic advances by steps, but also adopt his theory that prayer is the supreme grade of perfection, why do those who have reached this exalted height not always remain (ὑπομένουσι) in the quiet (ἀνάπαυσις) of prayer and contemplation, but say that they 'cannot pray'? [3] Apparently this question comes directly from

[1] *Hom.* XL, col. 765, section E'.

[2] Here too Gregory had led the way by insisting in the *De inst. Chr.* 56, 6 sq. and 14 sq. that the forces of good and those of evil cannot dwell together in the same soul; he had illustrated the impossibility by vivid images.

[3] The text of this question in Migne 765 C, εἰ ἀνάπαυσίς ἐστιν is obviously corrupt. Instead of ψυχή we ought to read εὐχή.

practical monastic experience, but this experience has greatly surprised those who are themselves still far from the quiet life of the praying monk and, in the midst of their own wearisome service (διακονία), long for that wonderful life. The answer is that the abundance of this quiet gives those who enjoy it greater sympathy with others, and thereby new obligations. It leads them to another kind of service: they want to visit their brethren (ἐπισκέψασθαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς) in order to administer the Word to them. Nature itself causes them to go and see the brethren to tell them the Word and to fulfill the work of *agapé*. There is nothing new in this answer, but it illustrates well the situation out of which Gregory's treatise was rewritten and then expounded in the homilies by the author. The treatise is the code to which the community is supposed to live up. But the attempt to apply it to monastic practice leads to many doubts and problems, which the author tries to solve by the question and answer method. And it is this discussion that reveals the true importance of Gregory's rules for the monastic life. The insight into this relation of rule and routine makes the theory more real and shows that the tradition of monasticism is indeed both simultaneously: the general doctrine and the ever new problems created by its application to the reality of the daily practice.

The third question is perhaps deliberately formulated in a rather naive fashion: How can the two persons (πρόσωπα) of grace and sin exist simultaneously in the heart? Obviously the question is suggested by the previous image of the chariot race in the circus of the human heart at which both God and the Devil are present as spectators. If grace and sin can be called two persons, they must be visualized as the Holy Ghost and the Devil in person. Therefore the master had to

descend with a smile from the highest level of abstract spirituality to the plain of the concrete. Imagine that a fire is burning under a kitchen pot and that you throw wood onto the fire. It begins to burn, and what is in the pot boils and steams, since the fire is burning underneath it from without. But if you neglect the fire it dies down until it is almost extinguished. So with grace, the heavenly fire within you: when you pray and give your thoughts to the love of Christ, see how in doing so you have put on wood and how your thoughts catch fire and flame into desire for Christ. The Spirit, even if it departs, being outside you, is both inside and outside the soul, just as the heat is both inside and outside the pot. If you neglect it and give yourself to worldly interests and occupations, the old wickedness returns and soon afflicts the whole man. But again the mind begins to turn to God and to seek Him more intensely; the fire flares up and both inflames and gives rest to the soul (ἐξάπτον καὶ ἀναπαῦον). In the answer we no longer hear of two persons coexisting in the soul, as the naively worded question seems to suggest. Perfect grace and absolute sin do not really dwell together at the same time. And yet man must have tasted hell and death in order to distinguish bitter and sweet, death and life; so the presence of the one is linked with the experience of the other. Then, by a sudden change of metaphor, the growth of grace inside man is called a slow process comparable to the gradual pulling of a fish from the depths of the sea with the rod by which it has been caught. Obviously the author is attempting to illustrate his thought by these shifting metaphors, which are not really in harmony with each other and in fact obstruct each other. These 'answers' must have been jotted down on the spur of the moment and never polished for publication.

This is confirmed by the next homily (XLI). Man's soul is an abyss; when sin takes possession of a man, sin itself becomes an abyss. Then, changing this metaphor, the author describes how sin entering man seizes upon the 'pastures of the soul' to their uttermost extent, like an enormous tree, the roots of which reach down to the depths of the earth [1]. Then when grace with its divine energy seizes the soul, giving it help from above, it first extends over only a part of it, but does not illuminate the entire soul at once. Indeed, sin still occupies large stretches of it, and much labor and effort are required, which work in man according to the grace given him. There is an initial period during which man's will is tested to see wether or not it is able to preserve its love of God pure and undefiled, without making common cause with evil but dedicating itself entirely to grace. Then, after this time of probation, grace takes possession of the soul and penetrates its innermost recesses until the soul is completely permeated and ruled by it. The greatest enemies of the progress of grace are pride (οἴησις) and lack of humility. He who abounds in grace must deem himself poor and unworthy and in need of help. In this entire homily (XLI) the author closely follows Gregory of Nyssa, his model, who stresses the gradual growth of the soul again and again and warns against pride and self-reliance in almost the same words. Again we see how Macarius applies the ideas of Gregory's treatise to his

[1] *P.G.* XXXIV, 768 c. Here it is quite clear that the author had at his disposal a certain number of such metaphors and used them frequently, but he finally began applying them confusedly without being aware that they cancelled each other out. In spite of his vivid imagination, 'Macarius' in his use of language suffers from a lack of aesthetic sensitivity. I have therefore refrained from touching up the picture, but have translated the text word for word in order to preserve the impression it makes.

own practice in teaching his monks. Indeed, his entire mystic vocabulary is colored by that of his model.

As we go on reading we grow more and more conscious of the fact that these ideas and images recur again and again in the homilies of Macarius with constant variations. Thus in the first homily the soul is compared to a stadium in which thoughts (λογισμοί), good and bad, clash against each other like chariots in a chariot race [1], with the Lord or the Holy Ghost as the charioteer (460 A-B). The author assures his listeners that these are not mere empty words but the realities of the spiritual life (460 C-461 C), and thereby confirms our impression that this strong feeling is the source from which all his images have sprung. In his desire to make concrete the power of the internal realities of the religious life over man, he becomes a poet who thinks in visual symbols. It is almost inevitable that a prosaic and matter-of-fact mind should mistake these spiritual realities for entities having an existence in time and space, particularly since the author himself often seems to forget to distinguish between them in his fervent eagerness to make us see his vision of the battle with evil as it were with our very eyes. It is precisely by this desire and by his great gift for dramatizing and making dynamic the unceasing struggle of the spiritual world against the powers of darkness that Macarius surpasses the more classical thought and language of Gregory of Nyssa. In his excess of enthusiasm Macarius creates his own Gregory of Nyssa, and after reading his homilies it is easy to understand why notwithstanding his great admiration for that mystic thinker he had to rewrite his treatise in his own idiom. In the same way he rewrites all of Gregory's thought in his homilies freely and creatively and no longer

[1] Mac. hom. I sect. Θ.

follows his guide from line to line. The reader of Gregory sees the thoughts and words of this author gleaming and sparkling everywhere throughout the fabric of Macarius' language, but they have been made an organic element of it, and in this perfect blend they are no longer borrowed but have become his own.

A great many of Gregory's favorite ideas and terms appear in the first homily: e.g., 'the soul that has been found worthy (καταξιωθεῖσα) to receive the Spirit' is a phrase we have found closely connected with Gregory's theory of the cooperation of the Holy Ghost with man's own effort, making him worthy of divine assistance [1]. The entire homily is dominated by the idea that the soul itself becomes light (φῶς γίνεται) when the heavenly light comes to dwell in it. This idea, which is found in Gregory's treatise [2], takes on various new forms in Macarius. The soul becomes 'all eye' (ὅλη ὀφθαλμός), 'all face' (ὅλη πρόσωπον), 'all light' (ὅλη φῶς), and the famous vision of Ezekiel of the four beasts with eyes all over their bodies (ὀλόφθαλμα ζῷα) is interpreted in this way. The soul that has become light and *pneuma* ὅλη δι' ὅλου, as Macarius says, using a well-known Stoic phrase, becomes the 'dwelling place of the Spirit' and a 'throne of God'. Illuminated from above it is filled with the ineffable beauty of the glory of light radiating from the face of Christ. So the souls of the saints are the light of the world.

Further Gregorian elements in Macarius' first homily are the idea of the liberation of the soul from the πάθη and its separation from the world, that radical revaluation of the goods of life which sees poverty where others see wealth and wealth where they see poverty. This implies the idea of the internal riches of the soul

[1] See p. 88, 95 and elsewhere.

[2] *De inst. Chr.* 48, 4; 50, 5; 51, 22; 56, 19; 83, 8; cf. 78, 14.

that has returned to its own nature and has died to the life of darkness. We are told to take upon ourselves of our own free will the poverty of the ascetic life in order to attain heavenly wealth. At the end of the homily we find quoted, effectively but somewhat abruptly, the biblical story (Luc. 18, 7) of the widow and the unjust judge who yields to her persistent entreaties. Gregory in his treatise cites this passage several times in order to prove that the way to salvation is by constant prayer [1], and Macarius takes over and uses the same passage many times in the same connection. Again, many resemblances to Gregory occur in the second and third homilies. The second speaks of the captivity and servitude of the soul, referring to the theory of the πάθη and the soul's liberation from their rule. The ideal is described in Gregory's usual way: man's will is by nature [2] to be pure and undefiled (καθαρός, ἄμωμος, ἄσπιλος), but his own power to achieve this state is insufficient. The details of Macarius' treatment of this topic are his own. His close relationship to Gregory of Nyssa is even more conspicuous in the third homily. 'The brethren shall live with one another in great *agapé*, whether they pray or read the Scriptures or do some kind of work' [3]. This beginning reminds us at once of Gregory's treatise, which declares in its very title that it is concerned with the problem of how ascetics ought to live together (συνεῖναι ἀλλήλοις). From the treatise we are also familiar with the distinction of the different categories of monks to which Macarius refers, and their conflicting views and grievances about life in a monastery [4]. Since Macarius

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 57, 17 sq.; 58, 3 sq.; 80, 6.
[2] See p. 49; 75; 79 etc.
[3] *Hom.* III, col. 468 C.
[4] *De inst. Chr.* 80, 15; 81, 6; 87, 3 and 9. See p. 193 sq.

had dwelt particularly on this problem in his retractation of Gregory's work [1], we are not surprised to see him return to it in this sermon.

The Gregorian elements that it contains are for the most part literal and unmistakable. Thus we find ourselves reminded of Gregory's comparison of the monastic life with that of the angels [2], a life of concord, peace, and love, without envy or conceit [3]. Like his source, Macarius stresses the necessity of a division of the functions of the community among the monks who pray, those who read, and those who work (468 A). In some details he is more specific than Gregory, as for example when he says that the same persons cannot pray day and night; they should pray for six hours (468 D). The praying brethren must not find fault with those who work, and those who work must not envy those who pray; they must complement each other's function [4]. Thus Gregory's precepts about this are rendered in their entirety in Macarius' own words, and Gregory's statement that the most important of all things is persistence in prayer is not lacking either (469 B). Gregory's insistence on the fight against hidden sins of thought is stressed here as well as in Macarius'

[1] See p. 188 sq. and p. 195 sq.

[2] *Hom.* III col. 468 C ὃν τρόπον οἱ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἄγγελοι σύνεισιν ἀλλήλοις, cf. *De inst. Chr.* 70, 19.

[3] On ὁμόνοια see *Hom.* III *loc. cit.* and *De inst. Chr.* 67, 6 and 70, 21. εἰρήνη and ἀγάπη are mentioned constantly by Gregory.

[4] Cf. *De inst. Chr.* 80, 15 and 81, 6 sq. Gregory's idea (80, 16) that those who pray acquire or accumulate a wonderful treasure, which the other share with them as a common good (cf. 81, 6-10), recurs in Mac. *Hom.* III sect. B′ (468 D), but slightly dramatized: 'And he who works may say of him who prays, "The treasure that my brother acquires I possess also, since it is our common treasure" '. Macarius goes into even more detail in order to make this advantage clear to those who work or read. See also *Gr. L.* p. 284, 11 sq.

letter [1]. Obviously there had been some resistance among the monks against accepting Gregory's subtle distinction between sins of deed and sins of thought, or at least they had questioned the possibility of allowing it to influence monastic practice. Of the sins of thought, they said, God must take care. The Lord requires only visible fruits from man [2]. Macarius insists that every man should also make war against his evil thoughts, but that to eradicate sin entirely is possible only with the help of God. This divine assistance is given only to those who fight. In describing the psychological facts of this struggle Macarius draws upon his own rich experience, but he is in basic agreement with his authority, Gregory of Nyssa, in declaring that this struggle is the essence and kernel of ascetic piety [3]. This idea pervades not only one but all of his sermons, as it pervades Gregory's thought. By constant struggle (ἆθλοι, πόνοι, κάματοι, ἀγών, etc.) man frees himself from the fetters of the natural world and is able to renounce not only the external goods of life but also his own soul (*Hom.* IV 485 C). All of Gregory's favorite ideas and phrases recur again and again in the spiritual homilies of Macarius: the divine ἔρως and πόθος of the soul, depicted as the bride of Christ ready to receive her bridegroom; the comparison of the unprepared soul with the foolish virgins who did not keep their lamps in readiness; the complete devotion of the soul to God's will; gradual progress (προκοπή); perfect ἀπάθεια; the διάκρισις of good and bad and its importance; προσ-

[1] *De inst. Chr.* 50, 9 sq., especially 11 and 14-15; also 53, 12 sq. Cf. Mac. *Gr. L.* p. 241, 10 sq. and supra p. 214.

[2] *Hom.* III 469 B.

[3] *Hom.* III 469 C-D. Macarius here varies Gregory's classical words ἀγών, ἆθλος, κάματος, etc. by substituting the graphic verbs ἀντιπαλαίειν, ἀντιμάχεσθαι, δεῖραι and δαρῆναι, ἀντιτύπτειν, etc.

κολλᾶσθαι τῷ Χριστῷ; the warning against seeking the praise of men and vainglory, instead of waiting for the divine judgment and reward.

These ideas form the framework of Macarius' ascetic theology. He then fills this inherited framework with the abundant wealth of his own spiritual experience, his overflowing rhetoric, and his fiery mystical enthusiasm. Thus everything is new and nevertheless old. There is an amazing identity in the basic structure of the theological theories of the two men, but Macarius' theological thought is far from being a mere copy of the ideas of Gregory that he adopts. He has enriched them by living them wholeheartedly and giving expression to this internal life. Evidently Gregory of Nyssa is accepted by Macarius not only as an author of lofty ideas but as providing the most exhaustive formulation of the ascetic theological tradition, which the new generation wanted to keep alive. It is worth noticing that all of Macarius' homilies move on the high plane of the mystic thought and symbolism of Gregory of Nyssa, rather than following along the more practical line of the monastic legislation of Basil's *Rules*, which seem to be taken for granted.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to say that everything in the homilies that is not directly derived from Gregory of Nyssa originated in Macarius' own thought. Besides Gregory's high speculation on the true spiritual meaning of the ascetic ideal, there appear in these sermons, and especially in the questions the interlocutors ask, unmistakable elements of more popular monastic tradition as we know it from the usual moralizing monastic stories. This accounts for the presence in the homilies of some of the superstitions that have led some modern scholars to think that Macarius was a follower of the so-called Messalian

heresy, if not the actual leader of this sect (Villecourt, Wilmart, Dörries). If this were true, we would then have to admit that Gregory of Nyssa must have been held in high esteem by this group of heretics and must have been thought of by them as being in full harmony with their queer and somewhat absurd ideas, if not indeed as their true founder. But in reality this is not plausible at all, and it seems much more likely that Macarius interpreted those of his beliefs that scholars have compared with what little we know of the Messalian sect in a more spiritual sense, and did not take them from this heretic group but from some common monastic tradition. At any rate we have to judge his real intentions by the predominance of the spiritualism of Gregory in his work, rather than by these scattered traces of popular superstition. J. Stiglmayr, who hesitated to accept Villecourt's hypothesis of a strong influence of the Messalian sect on Macarius, has already proved by a careful re-examination of the arguments set forth in support of this view that they are not really convincing. There is a semblance of truth in them, but on closer inspection the difference between Macarius and the Messalian ideas appears very great [1].

I do not want to repeat here what Stiglmayr has pointed out, correctly and in great detail, against the identification of both. As we have said before, not even the name Symeon, which part of our manuscript tradition offers in place of the erroneous name Macarius of Egypt, proves anything for the Messalian hypothesis, since belief in the identity of this Symeon with the leader of the Messalians rests on the presupposition that the content of the homilies is Messalian, and this

[1] See J. Stiglmayr, *Pseudomakarius und die Aftermystik der Messalianer* (*Zeitschr. f. Kathol. Theologie* 49 (1925) p. 244-260). See also W. Völker's review previously quoted, p. 206 n. 1.

presupposition cannot be proved. Quite apart from the differences between 'Macarius' and the Messalian heresies that are reported by our ancient sources[1] (Timotheus of Constantinople and John of Damascus), a serious chronological difficulty arises now that the provenance of most of Macarius' theological ideas from Gregory of Nyssa has been shown. The Messalian errors were attacked as early as the Council of Antioch (380) by Amphilochius of Iconium, a close friend of Basil and Gregory (!), and they were specified and solemnly condemned by the Synod of Side (390). At that time Gregory's treatise on the ascetic life (*De instituto Christiano*) was not yet written. It is therefore impossible that Macarius' writings, which are based on that work of Gregory's old age and include Macarius' complete paraphrase of it, were composed a considerable time before this date (380-390) and were condemned before their source was written. The only firmly established facts on which we have to depend from now on in dating Macarius' life and writings are the influence Gregory of Nyssa exercised on them and the paraphrase that Macarius made of one of Gregory's late works. This compels us to assign Macarius' *floruit* to the fifth century.

The paraphrase of Gregory's treatise appears also under the name of Ephraem Syrus, as we have mentioned before, and there is an abridged version of this paraphrase in Syriac under the name of 'Macarius'. These facts at least prove the great popularity of Gregory's treatise in this part of the Eastern Church. The Symeon to whom the paraphrase as well as the homilies are attributed by the Arabic and Slavic versions (and also some of the homilies in the Greek manuscripts) is called 'the Stylite'. It is very probable that the attribution

[1] See Dörries *op. cit.* p. 425 sq.

to this famous name is just as arbitrary as that to Macarius of Egypt or that of other ascetic treatises to the same Symeon Stylites or to Paphnutius, who was also a great figure among the first Egyptian desert fathers. In the same way some of the letters contained in the New Testament proudly display in their title the name of one of the apostles, not to speak of the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists, under whose names many a secondary product has found shelter. The Symeon Stylites who lived at the beginning of the fifth century in North Syria has as little claim to the title of writer as has Macarius of Egypt. Ephraem is excluded as author of the Macarian corpus both by style and date, since he was dead by the time Gregory's treatise was written. Before a great ascetic teacher and leader of a community of monks could use Gregory of Nyssa as he is used throughout the Macarian homilies and paraphrased in Macarius' *Great Letter*, a fairly long interval of time must have elapsed. This excludes the beginning of the fifth century as the time when these works originated.

Their origin remains a mystery, but as *terminus ante quem* we can establish the date at which a Syriac manuscript containing an abridged paraphrase of the *Great Letter* of Macarius was copied. According to its subscription [1], this codex was written in the year 534. The *Great Letter* must have been composed a considerable time before this date, most likely about the middle of the fifth century. At any rate the Symeon who is called the author of the homilies cannot be identical with Symeon Metaphrastes, the author of the lives of many saints, who lived in the eleventh century, as has been suggested by some. The author

[1] Villecourt, *La grande lettre de Macaire* (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 22 (1920-21)) p. 38.

lived near or in a large city in the East of the Roman Empire, as has been pointed out by Flemming in his Göttingen dissertation [1]. The city may be Antioch (an imperial palace is mentioned and described more than once in the homilies) or a city farther away from the coast of the Mediterranean [2]. The Euphrates is the largest river known to the writer. Nomadic life is familiar to him, and he speaks of camels as only an inhabitant of the Near East could do. He mentions the Persians (Parthians) as the hereditary enemy who constantly endangers his neighborhood and makes war against the Rhomaei [3]. All these facts seem to fit very well into the picture of an author writing during the fifth century somewhere in the Near East [4]. Far from

[1] Carolus Flemming, *De Macarii Aegyptii scriptis quaestiones*, Diss. phil. Göttingen 1911, p. 37 sq.

[2] Flemming *loc. cit.* 39 suggests Bostra, the chief city of the province of Arabia, because Macarius mentions the strong walls of a large city near which the monastery was situated; and Roman theaters, to which Macarius also refers, have been excavated at the site of this city. But there are other traces in the writings of Macarius that seem to point rather to Syria or the Euphrates region. At the end of the homilies the Arabic version calls the author Saint Sim'ān al-Hubaish (?) al-Antāki as-suryānī i. e. of Antioch, the Syrian (Simeon Stylites?).

[3] The wars that are mentioned between Rhomaei and Parthians occurred in every century from the third to the sixth, and thus do not help us in dating the author.

[4] Casimir Oudin (see *P.G.* XXXIV, 379) concluded from certain passages in the spiritual homilies of 'Macarius' that seem to stress the ability of man to bring about his salvation through his own effort, with the help of the Holy Spirit, that the author lived after the Pelagian controversy. But this fact can now be explained as resulting from Gregory of Nyssa's influence: as has been shown (p. 97) by our analysis, Gregory's treatise, which Macarius follows, anticipates like the *Vita Moysis* the arguments of the Semipelagians to a certain extent, and this accounts for Oudin's impression. It is possible, however, that 'Macarius', who in fact lived after the Pelagian controversy, reiterates Gregory's formulations with such vigor precisely

being a hermit living in the desert or on a column, as did the Egyptian Macarius and Symeon Stylites, he has some knowledge of philosophy and its classical representatives, even if this knowledge is second-hand; and he must have undergone some kind of rhetorical training, since he describes the curriculum of the Roman schools in the nearby great city. But his language, which is that of the patristic tradition, contains many vulgarisms, and he is by no means an Atticist and classicist like his admired model Gregory of Nyssa. He is fully versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures, in the theological fashion of his period, but learning, even biblical learning, is not an end in itself for him. There is no trace of a direct knowledge of Origen's works in his homilies, and the controversies of the school of Antioch with other theological schools are not reflected in his thought. What he has embraced wholeheartedly and with ardent fervor is the mystic and ascetic theology that had grown out of Origen's speculation and found its most impressive formulation in the works of Gregory of Nyssa. And while condemned by the Church in its original and unmitigated form, this *theologia mystica* survived in the new form it had been given by Gregory and the Cappadocian school.

The same type of faith is found in Ephraem, for whom Gregory had felt so great an admiration that he wrote an encomium after the death of this Syrian saint and theologian. If the *Great Letter* of Macarius could be placed wrongly under Ephraem's name, this at least proves that those who did not know the name of the real author felt a certain kinship between the Macarian writings and those of the celebrated Syrian father. An author who lived in that part of the world

because their negation had been pronounced in the Western Church during that long and bitter dispute.

could hardly remain untouched by the spiritual piety of Ephraem; this is another element of his thought, and it must have been easy to blend it with the mystic theology of Gregory of Nyssa. Some of the homilies of 'Macarius' (besides the *Great Letter*) are in some manuscripts ascribed to Ephraem. The Macarius scholars of the next few decades will have to follow these traces. I must be content here with having pointed out some of the new problems arising from the solution of some of the old ones that we have been able to answer with the help of our increased knowledge of Gregory of Nyssa and his historical influence. Among those whose ideas would have had a deep meaning for a man steeped, like 'Macarius', in the Gregorian tradition, Ephraem deserves a special interest; but as an intermediary between Gregory and the Syrian Church who conveyed the mystic asceticism of the Cappadocian school to the Near East, Evagrius Ponticus presents himself as the most likely name. In the process of expansion by which the ideas of Cappadocian mysticism spread throughout the East, we must look for an influential personality whose word, besides the written word of Gregory himself, helped to establish a real tradition of this sort of religious thought; and this personality, himself a product of the early Basilian monasticism in the Pontus, has exercised a notoriously powerful influence on the extension of this tradition to the Near East. He is hardly a key figure in its evolution, but he is an important link in the historical chain that connects its beginnings with the following centuries, including the period when the Islamic world arises and meets the Greek-speaking Christian world at exactly the point where Alexander had defeated the Persian empire and blended it with the Hellenic tradition.

PART THREE

THE TEXT OF THE NEW GREAT LETTER OF 'MACARIUS'

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

A Codex Vaticanus gr. 710 saec. XII-XIII

B Codex Vaticanus gr. 694 saec. XII-XIII

H Codex Hierosolymitanus gr. S. Saba 157 saec. XI

E Ephraemi Syri qui fertur Institutio ad monachos (Assemani, opera graece, tomus III p. 324-356, Romae 1746)

Ar Translatio Arabica (cf. supra p. 164)

op Macarii qui fertur opuscula De perfectione et De oratione

Testimonia S. Scripturae non addidi, quia nolebam hic iterare, quae ad Gregorii tractatum collegi: sunt enim fere eadem.

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΩΤΗ
ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥΣ

Ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων δεσπότης, ὁ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς ἀγαθὰς Gr. 40, 1-41, 2
ἀφορμὰς τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει χαρίζεται πάντοτε πρὸς
τὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐπίγνωσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω προ-
κοπὴν ἕκαστον λαμβάνειν βουλόμενος, οἷς νεύματι χρηστό-
τητος ὑποτίθεται, εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἕλκων ἀεὶ τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα
αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον ἄνθρωπον· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν τὴν
ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ῥοπὴν ἐχούσης καὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπιθυμεῖν
σπευδούσης τὸ τῆς κακίας ἀριστερὸν μέρος πανουργίᾳ δεινῇ
ταῖς ἁπλουστέραις ψυχαῖς φαντασίαν καλῶν πάντοτε προ-
βάλλεται εἰς ἐπισκότωσιν τῶν ὄντως καλῶν. διὸ <ἡ> τῆς Gr. 41, 2-9
χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνεκδιήγητος ἀγάπη γνῶσιν ἀληθείας διὰ
τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν διδάσκει ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα·
Χρηστότητα καὶ παιδείαν καὶ γνῶσιν δίδαξόν με, ἵνα οὕτως
ἰσχύσωμεν τὴν πάντων <τῶν> κακῶν αἰτίαν ἄγνοιαν ἀπώ-
σασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν οὖσαν σαρκικὴν καὶ ἄλογον φρόνησιν
δολερῶς ἐπαγγελίᾳ γνώσεως κρατυνομένην τῷ φωτὶ τῆς
ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως ὁδηγούμενοι παντελῶς ἐξελάσαι δυνηθῶμεν,
σωτηρίας αἰτίαν τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας μεμαθηκότες εἶναι.

Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ποθεινότατοι καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ Gr. 41, 10-24
ἀδελφοί, πολλάκις παρ' ἡμῶν ἠτήσατε λόγον ἐκθέσθαι,

TITULUS: τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς [Ephraem Syri] διδασκαλία πρὸς μοναχούς **E** qui solus prooemium graece praebet. codd **A** et **H** p. 235, 1 incipiunt, ubi **A** hanc exhibet inscriptionem (ante ἔστω κτλ.): ἐκ τῆς πρός τινας μοναχοὺς γραφείσης πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς μέρος τι· τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν μακαρίου τοῦ οὐνοφρονος eodem loco ἐκ (τῶν?) ἁγίου μακαρίου ἐπιστολῶν **H** titulus et initium usque ad p. 237, 25 desunt in **B**
E (**ABH** hic desunt) 4 οἷς ν. χρ. ὑποτίθεται cf Ps 118, 68 vel I Tim 4, 6 νεύματι 'nutu' an recte? πνεύματι suadet Gal 5, 22 10 ἡ addidi 14 τῶν addidi καλῶν **E**, correxi

ὁποῖον χρὴ τρόπον ἔχειν τὸν ἀναχωρήσαντα τῶν σαρκικῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.... ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀποστολικὸν χαρακτῆρα συνεληλυθότας ἱερὸν συγκρότημα καὶ στῖφος ἀδελφότητος γεγενημένον συνεῖναι εὐσεβῶς ἀλλήλοις διὰ παντὸς ἑλομένους, ὅπως τε ἀλλήλων συνδιατριβὴν ποιεῖσθαι δέοι, ποίαν δὲ ἔχειν χρὴ τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν κατάστασιν, τίς δὲ ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ἄκρας ἀρετῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον, ὁποῖός τε ὁ δρόμος καὶ ἀγὼν τῶν εἰς τὸ τέλειον ἐπιθυμούντων φθάσαι καὶ εἰς μέτρον τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας καταντῆσαι σπευδόντων· καὶ ἵνα μὴ εἰς
Gr. 41, 24-42, 12 μακρὸν παρατείνωμεν τὸν λόγον, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα ἠτήσατε παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ γράμματος ὑμῖν χαραχθῆναι εἰς ὑπόμνησιν συνεχῆ ψυχωφελοῦς μελέτης, πεπεισμένοι δηλονότι περὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως δόγματος, μίαν εἶναι θεότητα τῆς προσκυνητῆς καὶ μακαρίας τριάδος, μίαν οὐσίαν, ἓν θέλημα, μίαν δόξαν, μίαν προσκύνησιν προσφέρειν ταῖς τρισὶ τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ὑποστάσεσι, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εὐσεβῶς τὴν καλὴν
Gr. 42, 13-43, 7 ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων ὡμολογήσαμεν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν πολλὴν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁρμὴν θεασάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἰδόντες δι' ὀλίγων ὑπόμνησιν ποιῆσαι οὐκ ὠκνήσαμεν, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν νοημάτων λαβόντες· ἅμα <δὲ> καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς γραφικὰς μαρτυρίας εἰς πληροφορίαν ἀδιστάκτου πίστεως παρεθέμεθα, ἵνα μή τις δόξῃ ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τι λέγειν καὶ ὡς ὑπέρογκα ματαιότητος φρονοῦντας ὑποπτεύσῃ.

E (**ABH** hic desunt) 2 lacuna extat post τούτου ut vid, nam transitus ab ἀναχωρήσαντα ad συνεληλυθότας nimis durus est 5 γεγενημένους? 6 verba ὅπως ... δέοι post 5 συνεῖναι ... ἀλλήλοις moleste iterantur 9-10 τῶν εἰς τὸ τέλειον correxi: τὸ εἰς τῶν τέλειον E 15 εὐσεβοῦς correxi: εὐσεβῶς E δόγματος scripsi: δόγματα E 23 ὑπόμνησιν correxi: ὑπομνήμασιν E 25 supplevi δὲ cf Greg p. 43, 1

Ἔστω τοίνυν προηγουμένως πᾶσι τοῖς ἀφιερώσασιν ἑαυ- Gr. 43, 8 sq.
τοὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν
εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν παριστᾶν πάντοτε
σπουδάζουσι σκοπὸς ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας προκείμενος φωτισμὸς
[καὶ] εἰς τὸ πιστεύειν κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν εὐαγγελίων καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν γραφῶν ἐπαγγελίας, ἐπιδιδόντας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς πᾶν Gr. 43, 12-13
ἔργον ἀγαθὸν καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετῆς ἐπιτήδευσιν· πεπεῖσθαί
τε βεβαίως, ὅτι διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς θείας
δυνάμεως παντελῶς τὴν ἴασιν καὶ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῶν τῆς
ἀτιμίας παθῶν δυνατὸν ἐν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ἐν
τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι, ὅτι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀδύνατα παρὰ τῷ
ἐπαγγειλαμένῳ θεῷ δυνατὰ τυγχάνει· τὰ γὰρ τῆς ἁμαρτίας
πάθη ὕστερον ἐπιγεγόνασι τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι διὰ τὴν
τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου Ἀδὰμ παράβασιν· καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος Gr. 44, 1
τῆς υἱοθεσίας τελείως καὶ ὁλοκλήρως εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῆς
καὶ σώματος ἐν πάσῃ πληροφορίᾳ καταξιωθῆναι κατὰ τὸν
εἰπόντα ὅτι Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη πρὸς ἡμᾶς Gr. 44, 7
ἐν λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ
καὶ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ, καθὼς οἴδατε· καὶ πάλιν Ὁλόκλη- Gr. 44, 9
ρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως
τηρηθείη ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·

AEH 1 verba ἔστω . . . 237, 25 πολλῇ καὶ τὰ folio perdito desunt in B ἔστω: οὕτω E προηγούμενος E ἑαυτοὺς ἀφιερώσασι EH 2 ἁγίαν om A 3 τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν 'tamquam cultum spiritualem' intellige παριστάναι E 4 ὁ om E φωτισμὸς καὶ om EH sed οὗτος in ras H 5 εἰς om H, sed cf p. 248, 21 sq. πεφωτισμένους . . . εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ superabundat, delevi κατὰ EH: καὶ A 6 ἁγίων ante γραφῶν add E 7 πεπείσεσθαι χρὴ (om τε) E καὶ πεπεῖσθαι H, cf ad 16 9 ἴασιν: λύτρωσιν E τὴν om H 10 ἐν ἡμῖν δυνατὸν E δυνατὸν om H ἔν τε τῇ et ἐν τῷ E 13 ἐπιγέγονε E 14 Ἀδὰμ: ἀνθρώπου EH 15 τῆς ante 14 τοῦ coll E τὴν υἱοθεσίαν H 16 πίστεως χρὴ post πληρ. add E, cf ad 7 πιστεύειν add H; immo infinitivus καταξιωθῆναι sicut 7 πεπεῖσθαι pendet a 4 σκοπὸς ὁ . . . προκείμενος 17 ὑμᾶς E 18 μόνω A ἐν λόγῳ post καὶ pr falso iterat H καὶ ἐν alt om E καὶ alt om H πνεύματος ἁγίου E 19 δὲ post πληρ. add H

οὗ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τῆς ἀρρήτου εὐεργεσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς μακαρίας τριάδος βαπτίσματος οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐδεξάμεθα, εἰς αὔξησιν καὶ προκοπὴν τῆς τελείας κληρονομίας καὶ εἰς πολλαπλασιασμὸν τοῦ ταλάντου τοῦτο τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄχραντον μυστήριον πιστευθέντες.

Gr. 44, 13 Τὸ γὰρ θεῖον καὶ παράκλητον πνεῦμα τὸ δοθὲν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῇ μόνῃ καὶ ἀληθινῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ διακονηθὲν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὥρας κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως διαφόρως καὶ πολυτρόπως σύνεστιν ἑκάστῳ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως εἰλικρινοῦς τῷ βαπτίσματι προσελ-
Gr. 44, 25 θόντι· εἰς πολλαπλασιασμὸν μέντοι καὶ ἐπεργασίαν καὶ αὔξησιν λαμβάνει ἕκαστος τὴν μνᾶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
Gr. 45, 4-17 εἴρηται. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ βρέφος οὐκ εἰς τὴν νηπιώδη ἡλικίαν ἔστηκε πάντοτε, ἀλλ' ὁσημέραι τὴν αὔξησιν λαμβάνει ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἀκολουθίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρρήτους τῆς φύσεως νόμους, ἕως ἂν εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον καὶ εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν λογικῶν ἐννοιῶν φθάσῃ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ γεννώμενος ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος οὐκ εἰς τὴν νηπιώδη τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας ἕξιν ἵστασθαι ὀφείλει, ἀλλ' ὁσημέραι ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ χρώμενον διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν πάλην προκόπτειν αὐτὸν καὶ αὔξειν δεῖ εἰς τὴν τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας
Gr. 45, 19-25 συμπλήρωσιν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου· Μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς

AEH 1 οὗ τὸν: αὐτὸν E τῆς χάριτος post ἀρραβ. add E ἀρρήτου: αὐτοῦ H ἐπὶ: διὰ EH 2 τρισμακαρίας E τριάδος: ἐπωνυμίας E ἐδέξασθε A 3 καὶ προκοπὴν om E 4 πολυπλασιασμὸν EH τοῦτο om E 5 πιστευθέντες restitueram, confirmat H: πιστευθέντος AE 6 τὸ alt om E 8 κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως cf. p. 238, 3 11 πολυπλασιασμὸν EH εὐεργεσίαν H 13 γὰρ om E γενηθὲν E 14 ἵσταται H 15 ἀνάγκη A, cf 237, 11 ἀκολουθίας A 16 τῆς φύσ. ἀρρήτους A 18 γενόμενος E 19 τὴν om E πνευματικῆς: νοητῆς EH ἕξιν ἵστασθαι: ἐξανίστασθαι E 21 χρώμενος E νοητὸν ante ἀνταγ. add EH 22 αὐτὸν om E, post αὔξειν coll H δεῖ correxi: δέοι AEH πνευματικῆς: νοητῆς EH 25 τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως Greg EH: εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν A

μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα μηκέτι
ὦμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ
τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς
πλάνης, ἀληθεύοντες δὲ ἐν ἀγάπῃ αὐξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ
πάντα ὅς ἐστι Χριστός· καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει ὁ αὐτός·
Μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε Gr. 46, 1-7
τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τί τὸ
θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον, εἰς
τὸ τέλειον τοῦ θεοῦ θέλημα φθάνειν φάσκων τοὺς εἰς μέτρον
ἡλικίας καὶ λογικῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ πνεύματος ἐλθόντας.
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς σωματικῆς γεννήσεως ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἀκολουθίᾳ Gr. 46, 7-47, 13
καὶ φύσεως νόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρικὴν ἡλικίαν τὸ γεννώμενον
παιδίον φθάνει, οὕτω τῆς προνοίας ἀνάγκης ὅρῳ καὶ οὐ προ-
αιρέσει θελήματος διαταξαμένης τὴν σωματικὴν ἡλικίαν
συμπληροῦσθαι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἄνωθεν ‹ἐκ› τοῦ πνεύματος Gr. 46, 10-15
γεννήσεως οὐ ταύτην ὥρισε τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, ἀλλὰ πόνον καὶ
ἀγῶνα καὶ δρόμον μετὰ ὑπομονῆς πολλῆς τῇ αὐτεξουσίῳ
προαιρέσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔθετο κατὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου
εἰρημένον· Ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας· Gr. 46, 16
καὶ πάλιν· Βιάζεσθε, βιασταὶ γὰρ ἁρπάζουσι τὴν βασιλείαν Gr. 46, 17
τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ Ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται· Gr. 46, 18
καὶ Ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν· καὶ Gr. 46, 19
ὁ ἀπόστολος Δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχομεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν Gr. 46, 20
ἀγῶνα· καὶ Οὕτως, φησί, τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε· καὶ Gr. 46, 21
πάλιν Ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Gr. 46, 22

AEH 3 πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν om A 4-5 εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα EH: τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτὸν A εἰς αὐτὸν κατὰ πάντα Greg 5 ἀλλ. ὁ αὐτὸς λέγει E ὁ αὐτὸς ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει H 7 ἀνακαινώσει correxi quod iam confirmat H: ἀνακενώσει AE τί ἐστι H 8 εἰς: εἰ A 9 θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ E τέλειον post μέτρον add E 10 ἐλθόντας τ. πν. H 11 ἀνάγκη A, cf 236, 15 ἀκολουθίας A 12 γενόμενον E 13 τοῦ θεοῦ ante προνοίας add E 15 τοῦ πνεύματος A: πνευματικῆς EH ἐκ supplevi, cf Joh 3, 3-6 19 θύρας Greg EH: πύλης A 21 δὲ Greg E: om AH 23 τρέχομεν Greg A: τρέχωμεν EH 24 ἄθλον H 25 inde ab ἑξῆς incipit cod B sed prima pagina et dimidium secundae (usque ad p. 240, 2 φορεῖν) a recentiore manu exaratae sunt, scilicet ut deficiens libri initium expleret. sed etiam hoc initium a rec man scriptum usque ad ἑξῆς (i.e. primum folium) periit

Οὕτως δὲ ᾠκονόμησεν ἡ θεία χάρις, ἵνα ἰδίᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ
Gr. 46, 23 sq. ἰδίῳ θελήματι καὶ πόνῳ καὶ ἀγῶνι τὴν νοητὴν αὔξησιν ἕκαστος
προσλαμβάνῃ, καθ' ὅσον πιστεύει καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἀγωνίζεται·
Gr. 46, 25 καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἀγαπᾷ καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἀγῶνι σωματικῷ καὶ
ψυχικῷ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν εὐαρέστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ-
δίδωσι, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν
πνευματικὴν αὔξησιν τῆς ἀνακαινώσεως τοῦ νοὸς προσκτᾶται,
χάριτι μὲν καὶ δωρεᾷ θείᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν κομιζόμενος,
πίστει δὲ καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἀγῶνι αὐτεξουσίου προαιρέσεως τὴν
προκοπὴν καὶ αὔξησιν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον μέτρον τῆς πνευματικῆς
Gr. 47, 4 ἡλικίας δεχόμενος, ἵν' ὥσπερ χάριτι, οὕτω καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ
Gr. 47, 7-11 τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἔσται κληρονόμος, οὔτε τὸ ὅλον διὰ τῆς
θείας δυνάμεως καὶ χάριτος ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συνεργίας
καὶ σπουδῆς τὴν αὔξησιν τῆς προκοπῆς λαμβάνων, οὔτε τὸ
ὅλον διὰ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ἄνευ
τῆς συνεργίας καὶ βοηθείας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς τὸ
τέλειον τοῦ θεοῦ θέλημα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ καθαρό-
Gr. 47, 11 τητος μέτρον φθάσαι δυνάμενος. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ κύριος οἰκοδο-
μήσῃ οἶκον καὶ φυλάξῃ πόλιν, εἰς μάτην ἠγρύπνησεν ὁ
Gr. 47, 14 φυλάσσων καὶ κοπιῶν καὶ οἰκοδομῶν· καὶ πάλιν· Οὐ γὰρ
ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐκληρονόμησαν γῆν καὶ ὁ βραχίων
αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔσωσεν αὐτούς, καίπερ ῥομφαίαις καὶ βραχίοσι

ABEH 1 θεία EH, om AB ἰδίᾳ γνώμῃ evan B 3 προσ-
λαμβάνει A καθ' pr usque ad καὶ om E litterae πιστεύει
καὶ καθ' ὅ... evan B 4-5 καὶ ψυχικῷ om A 5 πᾶσαν
τὴν evan B τὴν om H ἐντολῶν: ἀγαθῶν E 6 litterae
ουσίαν evan B ἁγίου ante πν. add E 7 post αὔξη- verba
-σιν ἕκαστος προσλαμβάνει add A (errore ex 2-3 repetita) in fine
paginae ἀνακαινίσεως B προσκτᾶται om A 8 θείᾳ om E
τὴν om AB ποριζόμενος E 9 ἀγῶνι post αὐτεξουσίου coll A
10 αὔξησιν ... τέλειον om E 10-11 τῆς usque ad ἡλικίας
om E 12 οὐρανίου A τὸ om H τῆς om EH 13 καὶ
post θείας add A τοῦ: αὐτοῦ E; fuisse vid αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρ.
14 καὶ προκοπὴν H litterae ... ων οὗ ... evan B 15 καὶ
σπουδῆς om E καὶ ἰσχύος evan B 16 καὶ βοηθείας om
AH, var lect? ἁγίου om EH 17 ἐλευθερίας καὶ om E
18 μέτρον evan B μὴ γὰρ EH 20 καὶ κοπ ... evan B
ὁ ante κοπιῶν add H 22 οὐκ ἔσω ... evan B ῥομφ ... evan B

πολεμούντων, ἀλλ' ἡ δεξιά σου καὶ ὁ βραχίων σου καὶ ὁ Gr. 47, 18-22
φωτισμὸς τοῦ προσώπου σου, ἃ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν τῷ
ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν ἀγῶνι συνεργοῦσαν δηλοῖ· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν
οἴησιν τῶν δι' ὀλίγας ἀρετὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονούντων ἐκκόπ-
των, πίστει δὲ καὶ ἀγάπῃ διὰ χάριτος τὴν ζωὴν γίνεσθαι
τοῖς ἐλπίζουσιν ἐδίδαξεν ὁ προφήτης.

Τί τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς ὃ προτρέπεται Gr. 47, 23
ἕκαστον παρακαλῶν ὁ ἀπόστολος σπεύδειν φθάσαι; ἢ ἄρα,
περὶ ὧν ὁ κύριος εἴρηκε μακαρίζων αὐτοὺς Μακάριοι οἱ Gr. 48, 6
καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται· καὶ πάλιν·
Γίνεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος Gr. 48, 7
τέλειός ἐστι. τὴν παντελῆ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσιν διὰ τούτων
ἐπαγγέλλεται, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ παντελὴς τῶν τῆς ἀτιμίας παθῶν
ἀπαλλαγή, καὶ τὴν τελείαν τῆς ἄκρας ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν, ὅ
ἐστι καθαρισμὸς καὶ ἁγιασμὸς τῆς καρδίας διὰ τῆς μετουσίας
τοῦ τελείου καὶ θεϊκοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν πληροφορίᾳ γινομένης
τῆς μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης ἐπιδιδούσης τῷ θεῷ ὅλην ἐξ
ὅλου ἑαυτὴν ψυχῆς. καθὼς καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ τὸν τέλειον Gr. 48, 11 sq.
τῆς ἀληθείας σκοπὸν ὑποδεικνύον τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ διδάσκον
τοῦτον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ πιστεύειν τοὺς ἐπιθυ-
μοῦντας υἱοὺς φωτὸς ἀναδειχθῆναι καὶ τῆς ζωῆς κληρονόμους
γενέσθαι φησί· Γενηθήτω ἡ καρδία μου ἄμωμος ἐν τοῖς Gr. 48, 15

ABEH 1 πολεμούντων evan B (sed π et ν in fine legi possunt) αὐτῶν post πολεμ. add E 1-2 ὁ φωτισμὸς evan B 2 ἃ om EH τὴν in ras H 2-3 . . . μιν τῷ ἰδίῳ evan B 3 συνεργοῦσαν post 2 δύναμιν coll E δὲ om E 4 . . . τοῖς φρονούν . . . evan B πεποιθότων EH 4-5 ἐκκόπτων post οἴησιν coll E 5 δὲ: τε A θείας post χάριτος add E ζωὴν: σωτηρίαν EH ζωὴν γίνεσθαι evan B γενέσθαι A et B ut vid 7 τέλειον ante θέλημα add E 7-8 . . . εται ἕκα . . . evan B 8 ἕκαστον ante φθάσαι coll EH καὶ παρακαλεῖ EH ἄρα evan B 9 ἔλεγε EH μακάριοι οἱ evan B 10 τὸν θεὸν . . . πάλιν evan B ἐντέλλεται post πάλιν add E 13 ὅπερ ἐστὶν E 14-15 ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ E 16 γινομένης A: γινόμενος cet 17 τῆς τῇ EH ἀποδιδούσῃ E ἐπιδιδούσῃ H (η utrobique ex corr H) τῷ om E ὅλην AE: ὅλης B ὅλη H 18 ψυχῇ EH 19 κόπον E ὑποδείκνυσι AB διδάσκει AB 20 τοῦτον om A τοῦτο EH τοῦ om EH 21 κληρονόμους τῆς ζωῆς AB 22 καὶ ante φησί add AB

δικαιώμασί σου, ὅπως ἂν μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ· αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀτιμίαν φέρειν ἐσήμανε τοὺς ἄμωμον τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ παντὸς
Gr. 48, 19 σπίλου καὶ ῥύπου μηδέπω κεκτημένους· πάλιν γάρ φησι Τότε οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ ἐν τῷ με ἐπιβλέπειν ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς σου· πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν συμπλήρωσιν καὶ παντὸς παραπτώματος ἀναχώρησιν τελείαν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ θεὸν
Gr. 49, 1 κεκτῆσθαι ἐδίδαξε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. καὶ πάλιν· Καρδίαν καθαράν, εὐχόμενος ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγε, κτίσον ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις μου καὶ πνεύματι, φησίν, ἡγεμονικῷ στήριξόν με, <ὃ> τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν
Gr. 49, 4 παρίστησιν. ἀντερωτῶντος δὲ πάλιν Τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου ἢ τίς στήσεται ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐπάγει
Gr. 49, 5 τίνες εἰσὶ καὶ ποταποὶ οὗτοι· Ἀθῶος χερσὶ καὶ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ· ὥστε τὴν διὰ πράξεως καὶ λόγου καὶ διανοίας ἐπιτελουμένην ἁμαρτίαν παντελῶς ἐκκοπῆναι ἐξ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμήνυσε καὶ σπουδάζειν εὐχομένους καὶ διὰ πίστεως ἐλπίζοντας ὁσημέραι φθάσαι εἰς τὴν τελείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καθαρότητα.
Gr. 49, 11 Ὁ γὰρ ἀπόστολος διαρρήδην διδάσκων, ὁποῖαι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἶναι ὀφείλουσιν αἱ γάμου μὲν σαρκὸς καὶ δεσμῶν κόσμου ἀναχωρήσασαι, παρθενίαν δὲ ἐξασκεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσαι, φησίν·
Gr. 49, 13 Ἡ παρθένος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία οὐ σώματι
Gr. 49, 16-18 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πνεύματι, πρακτικῶν τε καὶ λογιστικῶν,

ABEH 2 . . . σήμανε evan B ἐσήμανε φέρειν E φέρειν cum E scripsi: φορεῖν ABH μὴ ante ἄμωμον add E τὴν om H 3 ῥύπους καὶ σπήλους E ῥύπου καὶ σπίλου H μηδέπω om E 5 τῶν om E 6 θεοῦ EH sed cf I Joh 3, 21 7 κεκτῆσθαι om E ἐδίδαξε κεκτ. H τὸ ἅγιον om EH 8 εὔχ. ὁ πρ. om A ἔλεγε om AB 10 φησίν om AB ὃ addidi 11 ἀντερωτῶν A 13 τίνες . . . οὗτοι om A τοιοῦτοι E 14 φησί post καρδίᾳ add E ὥστε om EH λόγων E καὶ ἐννοίας addunt ante καὶ διανοίας AB, var lect in textum irrepsit 16 συνεργίας H σπουδάζει AB 18 τελείαν EH, sscr B sed evan αν, om A θεοῦ: πνεύματος E 19 ἔλεγεν post διδάσκων add E αἱ ante ψυχαὶ B, om AEH 20 κόσμου om A 22 τὰ τοῦ κυρίου om E 23 εἶπεν post μόνον add E τε om BH λογιστικῶν AEH λογικῶν B, στι sscr B^2 Mac cum Greg Nyss πράξεις et λογισμούς distinguere solet, λογισμός apud eos quamlibet 'cogitationem' significat, vis philosophica verbo non inest

τουτέστι φανερῶν τε καὶ κρυπτῶν, ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς
εἶναι αὐτὴν παραγγέλλων, [ὡς] ἅτε δὴ νύμφην Χριστοῦ Gr. 49, 18-20
ἐπουρανίῳ βασιλεῖ καθαρῷ τε καὶ ἀμιάντῳ συναφθῆναι
ἐπιποθοῦσαν. ἐξομοιοῦσθαι γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀμώμῳ καὶ Gr. 50, 1-5
ἀχράντῳ κάλλει χρὴ τὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν αὐτῷ συναφθῆναι
ψυχὴν καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἐπιθυμοῦσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι
κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου· Καὶ πᾶς, Gr. 50, 6-8
φησίν, ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην ἁγνίζει ἑαυτόν, καθὼς
ἐκεῖνος ἁγνός ἐστι· καὶ Μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Gr. 50, 8-9
Χριστοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ φανερῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μόνον οἷον Gr. 50, 11 sq.
πορνείας ἢ κλοπῆς ἢ φόνου ἢ γαστριμαργίας ἢ καταλαλιᾶς
ἢ ψεύδους ἢ ἀργολογίας ἢ κραυγῆς ἢ γέλωτος ἢ εὐτραπελίας ἢ
φιλαργυρίας ἢ πλεονεξίας ἁγνεύειν δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀρνησα-
μένην μὲν κοινωνίαν σαρκικήν, κόσμου δὲ ἀναχωρήσασαν
καὶ παρθενίαν ἐξασκοῦσαν, εἰς συνάφειαν δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν
τοῦ ἀφθάρτου νυμφίου ἑαυτὴν καθομολογήσασαν, ἀλλὰ Gr. 50, 14
πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῶν βιαιοτέρων τῆς ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ κρυπτῶν
ἁμαρτημάτων καθαρεύειν αὐτὴν χρή, τουτέστιν ἐπιθυμίας Gr. 50, 17
κενοδοξίας ἀνθρωπαρεσκείας ὑποκρίσεως φιλαρχίας δόλου
κακοηθείας μίσους ἀπιστίας φθόνου ἐπάρσεως ζήλου αὐτα-
ρεσκείας φιλαυτίας τύφου καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων ἀοράτων
τῆς ἀτιμίας παθῶν.

Οἵδε γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ τὰ κρύφια τῆς ψυχῆς ἁμαρτήματα, εἴ Gr. 50, 19-20
γε πιστεύομεν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ πνεύματος, τῶν ἐκτὸς ἁμαρτη-
μάτων ἴσα καὶ ὅμοια ἡγεῖσθαι· Κύριος γάρ, φησί, διεσκόρ- Gr. 50, 22-51, 3
πισεν ὀστᾶ ἀνθρωπαρέσκων, καὶ Ἄνδρα αἱμάτων καὶ δόλιον

ABEH 1 τε post φανερῶν om BH 2 ὡς ἅτε AB var lect sunt, cf ad 255, 9 ὡς om EH δὴ: δεῖ E 4 ἐπιθυμοῦσαν E ἐπιποθούση H γὰρ: οὖν sscr H post γὰρ add διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν E ἀμώμῳ καὶ om E 5 ἐπιθυμοῦσαν EH 6 ἐπιποθοῦσαν EH μετ' αὐτοῦ ante ἐπ. coll E 7 καὶ om A 10 οἷον om E 11 πονηρίας Syr. φθόνου codd, correxi 13 τὴν pr om EH 14 σαρκικὴν: κοσμικὴν E ἀναχωροῦσαν E 15 ἐξασκοῦσαν AEH: ἀσκοῦσαν B 17 μᾶλλον: πλέον E 21 τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ἀόρατα . . . πάθη EH 24 ἐκτὸς: πρακτικῶν E; fuit glossa cf 1 25 ἴσα καὶ om E post ἡγεῖσθαι add E: μιᾶς γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς ῥίζης τυγχάνει βλάστημα

βδελύσσεται κύριος, τὸν δόλον καὶ τὸν φόνον εἰς ἓν συναριθμῶν
Gr. 51, 3-5 παράβαμα· καὶ ‹κατὰ› τῶν λαλούντων εἰρήνην μετὰ τῶν
πλησίον αὐτῶν, κακὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, Δὸς αὐτοῖς
Gr. 51, 6 κύριε κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. καὶ πάλιν· Καὶ γὰρ ἐν καρδίᾳ
ἀνομίαν ἐργάζεσθε ἐν τῇ γῇ. καὶ ὁ κύριος μεμφόμενος τοῖς
ἀνθρωπαρέσκοις φησί· Πάντα ποιοῦσι πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς
Gr. 51, 9 ἀνθρώποις· διὸ καὶ παραγγέλλει λέγων· Βλέπετε μὴ ποιή-
Gr. 51, 10-11 σητε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ
δὲ μή γε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς
Gr. 51, 12 οὐρανοῖς· τουτέστι μὴ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιζητεῖν θέλετε καὶ
cf. Gr. 51, 16sq. θηρεύειν ἔπαινον ἢ δόξαν διὰ τὰ καλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ ἡ δόξα ἀληθὴς καὶ αἰώνιος καὶ
οὗ ἡ ἀτιμία αἰώνιος. καὶ τὸ Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ὅταν καλῶς ὑμᾶς
Gr. 52, 15 εἴπωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τουτέστιν ὅταν θέλητε παρὰ ἀνθρώπων
καλῶς ἀκούειν καὶ δόξαις καὶ ἐπαίνοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν
προσερχομένοις χαίρειν· ἐπεὶ πῶς δυνατὸν ἦν ἀγαθοεργοῦντας
μὴ φανεροὺς εἶναι πᾶσιν; ὁπότε αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος λέγει·
Gr. 51, 22 Λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως
ἴδωσι τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν
Gr. 52, 2-9 ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ἀγωνίζεσθε, φησί, πᾶν
ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ μὴ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν δόξαν, μὴ
δὲ ἐπιζητεῖτε καὶ χαίρετε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῶν ὀλιγοχρονίων

ABEH 1 τὸν alt om E 2 παράβαμα BEH: παραβάλλει A (ΛΛ = M in scriptura unciali) recepi verbum, quod in lexicis non extat κατὰ addidi ἐν εἰρήνῃ E 4 κύριε AEH, om B 5 ἀνομίας H 5-6 τοῖς ἀνθρωπαρέσκοις E fort ex coniectura: τοὺς ἀνθρωπαρέσκους ABH 6 δὲ post πάντα add BH 7 λέγων om EH 9 τοῖς om E 10 τὸ ante μὴ add EH θέλετε om EH 11 ἢ: καὶ E 11-12 ἀλλὰ παρὰ μόνου τοῦ θεοῦ EH 13 ἀτιμία iterat BH ante καὶ τὸ add τουτέστι EH καὶ τὸ om A ὑμῖν post οὐαὶ add BH, om E, post εἴπωσιν coll A 13 ὅταν utrobique BEH: ἐὰν A ὑμᾶς om A 14 εἴπωσι πάντες H θελήσητε A 16 verba ἀγαθοεργοῦντας . . . αὐτὸς om H 17 τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος H ἔλεγε E 19 ὑμῶν post ἴδωσιν coll H 20 τοῖς om E φησί om E, ante ἀγωνίζεσθε coll H 21 ποιεῖν ante πᾶν coll EH verba καὶ μὴ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν δόξαν om AB, add B (in marg) EH (τὴν om H) 22 ἐν ante τοῖς add AB

ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν δόξαν παρὰ θεοῦ μόνου
ἐκδέχεσθε· καθὼς καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ λέγει· Παρὰ σοῦ Gr. 52.19
ὁ ἔπαινός μου, καὶ πάλιν· Ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐπαινεθήσεται ἡ Gr. 52, 19-20
ψυχή μου· ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἕως τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν εἰς
δόξαν θεοῦ ἐντέλλεται γίνεσθαι. Εἴτε γὰρ ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε Gr. 52, 21
εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, φησί, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε· τοὺς γὰρ Gr. 52, 24
παρὰ ἀνθρώπων δόξαν ἢ ἐπαίνους ἐπιζητοῦντας ἀπίστους
εἶναι ὁ κύριος ἀπέδειξεν εἰπὼν Πῶς δύνασθε ὑμεῖς πιστεύειν Gr. 53, 1
δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνοντες καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ
τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ οὐ ζητοῦντες; ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης τὸ μῖσος τῷ Gr. 53, 4
φόνῳ συγκρίνων φησίν· Ὁ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀν-
θρωποκτόνος ἐστί· καὶ Οἴδατε ὅτι πᾶς ἀνθρωποκτόνος οὐκ Gr. 53, 5
ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐν ἑαυτῷ. τὸ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ μῖσος <τὸ>
κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ γινόμενον τῷ φόνῳ συγκρίνει.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος τοὺς τοῖς πάθεσι τῆς ἀτιμίας Gr. 53, 14
παραδοθέντας διὰ τὴν ἀσύνετον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπειθῆ καρδίαν
διαγορεύων καὶ ἐξαριθμῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τῆς
ἀπωλείας ἐργασίαν, κρυπτὰ καὶ φανερὰ ἁμαρτήματα εἰς ἓν
συναριθμῶν, φησίν· Καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν Gr. 53, 15-54, 2
ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, διὸ καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς
ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, πεπληρωμένους
πάσης ἀδικίας πονηρίας πορνείας πλεονεξίας κακίας· με-

ABEH 1 ἔπαινον... δόξαν om H, post 2 ἐκδέχεσθε add ἔπαινον H τοῦ ante θεοῦ add E μόνον H 2 verba καθὼς καὶ... 3-4 ἡ ψυχή μου om ABH homoearcto, ego ex E recepi 4 τοῦ ante πιεῖν add B 5 γίνεσθαι om A γίνεσθαι ἐντέλλεται E γὰρ om AH 6 φησί(ν) post 5 γὰρ coll E, post ἐσθίετε H πάντα om H 7 ἐπαίνους ἢ δόξαν E ἐπιζητοῦν-τας: θηρεύοντας E 9 παρ' ἀλλήλων EH γρ παρὰ ἀνῶν in marg B sed idem habet in textu; fueratne var lect ad παρ' ἀλλήλων adscriptum? 10 ζητεῖτε EH πάλιν δὲ ὁ E 11 φθόνῳ A συναριθμῶν E 13 ἐν ἑαυτῷ om EH τῷ om E τὸ supplevi 14 αὐτοῦ om EH litterae συγ . . .evan B συγκρίνων sed ων in ras H 15-16 τῶν . . . παραδοθέντων E αὐτῶν post ἀσύν. EH, in marg add B, om A 17-18 τῆς ἀπωλείας B in marg et EH, om A 18 τὰ ante κρυπτὰ et φανερὰ add E 19 καὶ καθὼς om A γὰρ post ἐδοκίμασαν add A 20 διὸ καὶ om EH ὁ θεὸς om EH εἰς om E 22 πάσης . . . πορνείας om A πορνείας om H πάσῃ ἀδικείᾳ πονηρίᾳ . . . κακίᾳ E

στοὺς φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος δόλου κακοηθείας· ψιθυριστὰς καταλάλους θεοστυγεῖς ὑβριστὰς ὑπερηφάνους ἀλαζόνας, ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς, ἀσυνέτους ἀσυνθέτους ἀστόργους ἀσπόνδους ἀνελεήμονας· οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγνόντες, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

Gr. 54, 3 Ὁρᾷς πῶς οὐ μόνον τὰ φανερὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἐξηγόρευσεν τὰ μόνα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ὄντα βδελυκτά, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς φανεροῖς καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη συνηρίθμησε, δόλον ὑπερηφανίαν ἔριν κακοήθειαν ἀλαζονείαν μῖσος ἀσυνεσίαν·
Gr. 54, 6 καὶ πάλιν ὁ κύριος λέγει· Τὸ ὑψηλὸν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις βδέ-
Gr. 54, 7 λυγμα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ Ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται· καὶ ἡ Σοφία φησὶν
Gr. 54, 9 Ἀκάθαρτος παρὰ θεῷ πᾶς ὑψηλοκάρδιος. καὶ τὰ ὅμοια δὲ
Gr. 54, 11 ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν πάμπολλα ἂν εὕροιμεν τὰ εἰρημένα κατὰ τῶν κρυφίων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς ἀτιμίας παθῶν.
Gr. 54, 12 sq. τὰ γὰρ κρύφια πάθη τῆς ἀτιμίας τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπιστάμενον βιαιότερα καὶ κατερριζωμένα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνυπάρχοντα τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν διὰ ποίου τρόπου γενέσθαι δυνατὸν
Gr. 54, 18 διδάσκον ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ Δαβίδ φησιν· Ἐκ τῶν κρυφίων μου καθάρισόν με καὶ ἀπὸ ἀλλοτρίων φεῖσαι τοῦ δούλου σου·
Gr. 54, 13-16 ὥστε διὰ πολλῆς δεήσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν τελείας ἀγαθῆς ὁρμῆς τῶν κρυφίων τῆς ἀτιμίας παθῶν διὰ

ABEH 3 ἀσυνθέτους ἀσυνέτους H 4 ἀσπόνδους om E 5 πράσσοντες AE: πράττοντες BH 6 καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς om EH 8 μόνα om E σὺν om H 9 κρύφια BEH: κρυπτὰ A πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς E τῆς ψυχῆς om A συγκατηρίθμησε EH 11-12 βδέλυγμά ἐστι E 12 τῷ om E 13 ὁ δὲ B: καὶ ὁE ὁ δὲ . . . ὑψωθήσεται om AH 14 θεῷ : κυρίῳ E τῷ θεῷ H τὰ ὅμοια δὲ evan B δὲ om E 15 ἀναλεξάμενος E θείων sscr sup γραφῶν H εὕροιμεν AH: ἂν εὕροιτε E εὑρήσομεν ut vid B ἂν ex E restitui τὰ om E 16 τῇ om E τῆς ἀτιμίας A: in ras om H, τῆς ἁμαρτίας BE sed in marg πάθη τ. ἀτιμίας habuisse vid B quae iam evan 18 καὶ κατερριζωμένα om E 19 καὶ ante τὴν add H δι' ὁποίου E 20 διδάσκων A ὑμᾶς E 21 ἀλλοτρίου H 22 ὡς EH οὖν post πολλῆς add H τὸν ante θεὸν add B, om AE, sscr H 23 καὶ ante ἀγαθῆς add E bene, nisi forte τελείας et ἀγαθῆς var lect sunt διά τε H

τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δυνάμεως περιγενέσθαι δυνάμεθα. ὥσπερ
γὰρ τὸν ἔξω ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἀπὸ τῶν φανερῶν Gr. 55, 3
ἁμαρτημάτων σπουδάζομεν φυλάττειν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ, καθὼς
εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος· Ὁ φθείρας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, περὶ τοῦ Gr. 55, 5
σώματος λέγων, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός, οὕτως καὶ τὸν ἔσω
ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή, σπουδαστέον καὶ διαγωνιστέον
ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ ῥυπαρῶν λογισμῶν φυλάττειν <ὡς
νύμφην Χριστοῦ> κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον Πάσῃ φυλακῇ τήρει σὴν Gr. 55, 12
καρδίαν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἔξοδοι ζωῆς [ὡς νύμφην Χριστοῦ].
Τοῦτο δὲ κατορθῶσαι ἡμῖν ἔσται ἀνταγωνιζομένων ἡμῶν Gr. 55, 15 sq.
καὶ ἀντιλεγόντων πάντοτε τοῖς πονηροῖς λογισμοῖς τῆς τε
κενοδοξίας καὶ μίσους καὶ τύφου καὶ δόλου ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ Gr. 55, 16
ἀπιστίας, ζήλου καὶ φιλαρχίας, καὶ πάσῃ ἀκριβείᾳ ἑαυτοὺς
ἐρευνώντων τόν τε νοῦν ἀσυνδύαστον καὶ ἀσύμφωνον φυλασ-
σόντων πρὸς τὰ κρύφια τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς
ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόντων μετὰ βίας καὶ πόνου
καὶ ἀγῶνος διὰ τὸ ἐμποδίζειν ἡμῖν τὸν ἀντικείμενον· τὴν Gr. 56, 2

ABEH 1 δυνησόμεθα E καὶ ὥσπερ, om γὰρ H ὅσπερ H 2 σῶμα, sscr τοῦτο H 3 φυλάσσειν E (sic et 7) 6 ὅπερ AE: ὅ B ὅς H ἡ om A ἡμῶν post ψυχὴ sscr H 7 μολυσμοῦ ῥυπαρῶν om E post μολυσμοῦ sscr τουτέστι H λογισμῶν ῥυπαρῶν H λογισμοῦ πονηροῦ E 8 σὴν: τὴν E 9 post καρδίαν add ὡς νύμφην Χριστοῦ B, om AEH; eadem verba post ζωῆς coll AH et iterat B, om E. Arab haec verba post 7 φυλάττειν extitisse ostendit, ubi ea restitui 10 ἐστιν A post ἔσται sscr διὰ τὸν (?) H ἀνταγωνιζομένοις H ἡμῶν om H 11 ἀντιλέγουσι (ουσι in ras) H λογισμοῖς AE: διαλογισμοῖς BH τοῖς τῆς H τε om EH τῆς τε om A 12 κενοδοξ. φημὶ (in ras) H 13 post ἀκρ. ras, ἑαυτοὺς om, διερευνῶσι H ἑαυτοὺς ἐρευνώντων AE (-όντων) qui haec verba cum praecedenti sententia coniungunt: ἑαυτῶν ἐρευνῶντες B 14 τόν τε νοῦν E: τε om et καὶ post νοῦν add H τὸν νοῦν B τοίνυν A qui hinc novam sententiam incipit ἀσυνδύαστοι καὶ ἀσύμφωνοι A de coniectura ἀσυνδύαστον τούτοις φυλάττουσι H 14-15 φυλασσόντων E: φυλασσόμενον B φυλασσώμεθα A φυλ. πρὸς om H 15 τοῖς κρυφίοις κ. ψυχικοῖς πάθεσιν ex corr H καὶ om ABH 16 ἐπιδιδόντων scripsi: ἀποδιδόντων E ἐπιδιδόντες AB ἐπιδιδόναι (αι corr) et sscr ὀφείλετε H 17 ἡμᾶς A ὑμῖν H ut vid

Gr. 56, 6 γὰρ μονότροπον εὐθύτητα αἰνισσόμενος ὁ μακάριος Μωυσῆς
καὶ διὰ τύπων ὑποδεικνὺς ἐνέφηνε τὸ μὴ δεῖν δυσὶ γνώμαις,
κακοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξακολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ
Gr. 56, 14-16 ἀγαθῷ· καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν δύο καρποὺς ἐν ἡμῖν, χείρονος καὶ
χρησίμου, γεωργεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ μονοτρόπως τὰ χρήσιμα
ἐργαζομένους παντελῶς τοῦ χείρονος ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι. φησὶ
Gr. 56, 14 δὲ δι' αἰνιγμάτων· Οὐ ζεύξεις ἐν τῇ ἄλωνί σου ἀλλογενῆ ζῷα
Gr. 56, 6-13 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, οἷον βοῦν καὶ ὄνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὁμογενῆ ζῷα ζεύξας
ἀλοήσεις τὸν ἄμητόν σου· τουτέστιν ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ ἄλωνι τῆς
καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία τὴν ἐργασίαν
ἔχῃ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀρετή. Οὐ συνυφανεῖς, φησίν, ἐρέῳ ἱματίῳ
λινὸν οὐδὲ πάλιν λινῷ ἔριον· οὐ γεωργήσεις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς
γῆς σου δύο καρποὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ δεύτερον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ·
οὐκ ἐπιβαλεῖς ἑτερογενὲς ζῷον ἐπὶ ἕτερον εἰς γονήν, ἀλλὰ
Gr. 56, 16 sq. τὰ ὁμογενῆ τοῖς ὁμογενέσι συζεύξεις. διὰ δὲ τούτων πάντων
μυστικῶς αἰνίττεται τὸ μὴ δεῖν κακίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν ἡμῖν γεωρ-
γεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ μονοτρόπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀποκυεῖσθαι
Gr. 56, 19 διὰ τῆς θειοτέρας γονῆς· καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν δυσὶ πνεύμασι, τῷ
πνεύματι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν ψυχὴν
Gr. 57, 1 sq. κοινωνεῖν καὶ ἑνοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματι

ABEH 1 μονότροπον AE : ὁμότροπον BH (cf 5 et 17) τῶν ἀρετῶν post μονότρ. add E αἰνησόμενος E καὶ ὁ μ. H 2 καὶ om E διὰ τύπων BH: διατυπῶν AE ὑποδεικνὺς om E ἐνέφαινε EH τὸ AB: τῷ E, cf 4, 16, 18 τε καὶ E 3 ἀκολουθεῖν E 3-4 μόνον τὸν ἀγαθὸν E 4 τὸ ABH: τοῦ E ἐν ἡμῖν ante 5 γεωργ. coll E 7 ἐν evan B ἀλωᾷ E ἄλω H ἀλλοιογενῆ H 8 τῷ αὐτῷ E ὁμογενῆ E Greg: ὁμοιογενῆ AB, ὁμοι°γενῆ H, sed cf 15 ubi ὁμογενῆ bis in ras B ζῷα om EH ζεύξεις καὶ ἀλοήσεις H 9 ἀλωῆς σῆς τὸν E ἀλωᾷ E ἄλω H 10 ὑμῶν : ἡμῶν H σου E ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ quod post κακία coll E 11 μόνη E μόνη ἡ H συνυφανεῖς AE: συνυφάνης BH φησίν om ABH 11-12 ἐρέῳ ἱματίῳ λινὸν BEH (λινοῦν) : ἐρίῳ ἱμάτιον λινοῦν A ἐρέῳ ἱματίῳ λινοῦν Mac opusc 12 ἐρέαν EH γεωργήσῃς E 13 οὔτε E 14 ἐπιβάλῃς E 15 ὁμοιογενῆ τοῖς ὁμοιογενέσι A συζεύξεις om E τούτων δὲ EH 16 τὸ AB: τοῦ EH, cf 2, 4, 18 17 τὰς ἀρετὰς B: τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἱερὰς (om AH) γονὰς AEH sed hoc ex p. 247, 1 falso irrepsit 17-18 ἀποκύεσθαι A post ἀποκ. add διὰ τῆς θειοτέρας γονῆς B, om AEH sed γονῆς retinet H τὸ : τοῦ EH 19 θεοῦ . . . κόσμου coll H 20 μόνῳ H

συνενουμένην καὶ προσκολλωμένην τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἱερὰς γονὰς καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦ πνεύματος καρπογονεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν προσέταξεν, μηδὲ δυσὶ προσώποις, τῷ χείρονι καὶ τῷ κρείττονι, συμφωνεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῷ καλῷ χρωμένους καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ παντελῶς ἠλλοτριωμένους τὸν Gr. 56, 2
μονότροπον τῶν ἀρετῶν καρπὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γεωργεῖν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς σου κατωρθούμην· πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἄδικον ἐμίσησα· καὶ Ἀδικίαν ἐμίσησα καὶ ἐβδελυξάμην, τὸν δὲ νόμον σου ἠγάπησα, ἵν' οὕτως τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶν ὁ κύριος τῇ ἰδίᾳ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὴν μεγάλην ἴασιν τῶν κρυφίων παθῶν διὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δυνάμεως παντελῶς ἐν ἡμῖν ποιήσῃ, τὴν ἐκδίκησιν Gr. 57, 15-58, 6
τῶν νοητῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν ἐργαζόμενος· καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ Gr. 57, 17 sq.
κύριος περὶ τῆς χήρας διεξερχόμενος τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου 58, 1
καταπονουμένης καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα προσελθούσης, ἐπιζητούσης τε τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκδίκησιν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς προσμονῆς ἀναίδειαν αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκδικήσεως αὐτῆς τετυχηκυίας, διδάσκει ἡμᾶς μὴ ἐκκακεῖν ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν. Gr. 58, 6
Ἔλεγε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ παραβολὴν πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐκκακεῖν καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. τὸ μὴ ἐκκακεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ προσμονὴν τῆς εὐχῆς αἰνίττεται· καὶ μετὰ

ABEH 1 τὰς om H ἀποκυΐσκειν post γονὰς add H 2 τῇ ψυχῇ A 3-4 τῷ κρείττονι καὶ τῷ χείρονι AH τὸ κεῖρον καὶ τὸ χρεῖττον (sic) E 4 μόνῳ EH 5 χρημένην A verba καὶ τοῦ . . . ἠλλοτριωμένους om A ἀλλοτριωμένους B 6 γεωργεῖσθαι EH ἐνετείλατο add E 7 εἰρημένον E 9 τὸν . . . ἠγάπησα om E 10 θεωρῶν H ὁ om A 11 τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως τοῦ πνεύματος E 12 ἐν ἡμῖν παντελῶς ποιήσῃ EH τὴν ἐκδίκησιν BEH: καὶ ἐκδικήσῃ A 13 ἀπὸ ante τῶν add A ἐργαζόμενος om A ἐρ postea add B et sub linea -γαζόμενος scr αὐτὸς om E 15 ἄδικον AB: τῆς ἀδικίας EH (om τῆς) εἰσελθούσης A 16 τε: δὲ E 17 προσμονῆς AE: παραμονῆς (παρα ex corr) H ἐπιμονῆς B Greg αὐτῆς ἀναίδειαν coll E 18 διδάσκων H 19 γάρ φησιν H 20 μὴ δὲ B δὲ om AEH καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς: τὴν ἐπιπλεῖον τῆς προσμονῆς εὐχὴν ἐντέλλεται E verba καὶ . . . ἐκκακεῖν om H τὸ μὴ . . . αἰνίττεται om E 21 quae post αἰνίττεται inserit Arabus non plenior textus sunt sed verbosa paraphrasis καὶ ἐπάγει μετὰ τ. E

Gr. 58, 3-6 ταῦτα ὁ κύριος Ἴδετε τί λέγει ὁ ἄδικος κριτής· πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τάχει.

Gr. 58, 6 sq. Οἷον γὰρ ἀγῶνα εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μαθητῶν ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ εἰς ὁποῖον πνευματικὸν μέτρον ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐσπούδαζεν

Gr. 58, 8-9 ἐνδιαθέτως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐχόμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄκρον τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ σκοπὸν πᾶσι φανερὸν καθιστῶν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπόνως† φιλαλήθως τρέχειν καὶ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως κανόνα τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν προκόπτειν

Gr. 58, 9-12 σπουδάζουσιν ἔκδηλον ποιῶν· Νουθετοῦντες, φησί, πάντα ἄνθρωπον καὶ διδάσκοντες ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, ἵνα παραστήσωμεν πάντα ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ, εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος.

Gr. 58, 12 καὶ πάλιν τοὺς τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καταξιουμένους ἐπεύχεται

Gr. 58, 15-24 τῆς πνευματικῆς προκοπῆς λαβεῖν αὔξησιν λέγων· Διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους οὐ παύομαι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενος καὶ αἰτούμενος, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, δῴη ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ· πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνά-

ABEH 1 ὁ κύριος om A Ἴδετε τί EH: Ἴδε τί AB ἄδικος BEH: δίκαιος A ex coniectura 2 ὑμῶν H: ἡμῶν cet ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν post 1 μᾶλλον coll E τὴν om H 3 ἡμ. καὶ ν. E 5 γὰρ: δὲ E ἰδίων ante μαθ. add E 6 οἷον μετρ. πνευμ. αὐτοὺς ἐλθ. E μέτρον πν. coll H 8 φανερὸν πᾶσιν E 9 ἀπόνως φιλαλήθως B ἀκμητὶ τρ. κ. φιλ. H καὶ post ἀπ. add A ἀκμητὶ καὶ φιλ. E; εὐτόνως? cf 251, 12 τὰ post καὶ add E 10 τὸ: τὰ E 11 post ποιῶν add τί λέγει E 14 τοῖς τῆς σφραγῖδος E τοῖς τὴν σφραγῖδα H 15 καταξιουμένοις EH (-ιομ- E) 16 αὐτῶν post πνευμ. add E αὔξησιν λαβεῖν A λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς αὔξ. EH 17 ἡμᾶς A τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἔχετε E (om τὴν) τὴν ante et post ἁγ. om H 18 παύσομαι H ἡμῶν E 22 ὑμᾶς om A τί E 23 αὐτοῦ om E τῆς κληρονομίας om E

μεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς μετουσίας καὶ μεταλήψεως τοῦ πνεύματος ἀκριβῶς ὑποσημειωσάμενος ἐν πληροφορίᾳ γινομένης Κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, Gr. 58, 25 φησί, τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· κατ' ἐκείνην φησὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν πληροφορίαν δέξησθε. καὶ Gr. 59, 4 πάλιν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ μικρὸν προβὰς εἰς ὑψηλοτέραν αὔξησίν τινα καὶ προκοπὴν τελειότητος πνευματικῆς ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπεύχεται λέγων· Τούτου χάριν κάμπτω Gr. 59, 7-17 τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται, ἵνα δῷ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, δύναμιν κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένους καὶ τεθεμελιωμένους· ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις, τί τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ βάθος καὶ ὕψος, γνῶναί τε τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ.

Ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἐπιστολῇ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διδάσκων καὶ τὴν Gr. 59, 18 sq. ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ πλούτου ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ προτρεπόμενος σπεύδειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ τέλειον μέτρον καταντῆσαι ἔλεγε· Ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ πνευματικὰ χαρίσ- Gr. 59, 20-27 ματα· καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι. ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀγγέλων λαλῶ, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἠχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον· κἂν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ

ABEH 2-3 ὑπεσημειώσατο EH 3 γινομένοις E γινόμενον H γενομένης A 4 post αὐτοῦ add εἰς ὑμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας E 5 τῶν om EH 6 τὴν ante πληροφορίαν om A 8 τινα om E πνευματικῆν (sic) E 10 μου om E 11 οὐρανῷ E 12 δῷ BE: δώη AH Greg τὸν πλοῦτος καὶ δόξης E 13 δυνάμει E 14 τῆς om H 15 ἐργαζομένους E 17 γνώσετε τὴν E 20 καὶ ante ἐν add EH 21 ὑποδεικνὺς E ὑποδεικνύων H 22 καὶ om EH 24 δὲ add ante καθ' AB 25 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ante τῶν ἀγγέλων add E καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων in marg B ἀγγέλων in Greg in γενῶν corruptum est quod nescio an ex ἀνῶν ortum sit 26 καὶ ἐὰν H

εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν, κἂν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστᾶν, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι· κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου καὶ παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυθήσομαι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ
Gr. 60, 1 sq. ἔχω, οὐθέν εἰμι. καὶ ἐπάγει τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς ἀγάπης οἵοί εἰσι καὶ πῶς οἱ ταύτην κεκτημένοι τῶν τῆς κακίας παθῶν
Gr. 60, 4-7 παντελῶς ἐλυτρώθησαν, λέγων· Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ ζηλοῖ· ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται· οὐ φυσιοῦται· οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ· οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς· οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν· οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· πάντα στέγει· πάντα
Gr. 60, 9 sq. ὑπομένει· πάντα πιστεύει· πάντα ἐλπίζει. καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτός· Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει. τὸ δὲ 'οὐδέποτε πίπτει' τοῦτο σημαίνει, ὡς οἱ ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις χαρίσμασι τοῦ πνεύματος ὄντες καὶ μηδέπω διὰ τῆς πληρεστάτης καὶ ἐνεργοῦς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν λύτρωσιν τῶν παθῶν δεξάμενοι ἐν
Gr. 60, 12 κινδύνῳ ἔτι καὶ ἀγῶνι καὶ φόβῳ τυγχάνουσι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας πάλην, εἰ καὶ χαρίσματα πνευ-
Gr. 60, 10 ματικὰ κέκτηνται. ἰδοὺ γὰρ οἷον καὶ ὅσον πνευματικὸν μέτρον, ἅτε μηκέτι ὂν ὑπὸ πτῶσιν καὶ πάθος, ἔδειξε τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀκριβῶς βαίνειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ·

ABEH 1 ἴδω E μυστήρια] πάντα add H, in marg B, om AE καὶ: κἂν E verba γνῶσιν . . . 2 τὴν om H κἂν B: καὶ ἐὰν E 1-2 verba κἂν ἔχω . . . τὴν πίστιν om A 3 ὠφελοῦμαι: εἰμι E καὶ ἐὰν H μου post πάντα coll H 4 καὶ: κἂν E καὶ ἐὰν H καυθήσωμαι E κα . . σωμαι B καυθῆ A 5 οὐδὲν? H εἰμι: ὠφελοῦμαι E post καρποὺς add τοὺς B τε post οἵοί add E 7 λέγων om H ἡ ἀγάπη om E 10 συγχαίρει . . . 12 πίπτει: καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς H 11 πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα πιστεύει E καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς om E 12 πίπτει pr BH: ἐκπίπτει AE ἐκ sscr B^2 cf seq τὸ . . . πίπτει om E τοῦτο δὲ E τὸ δὲ BH: τί δὲ (om τὸ) A 13 ὡς οἱ: ὅτι E 15 τῶν παθῶν om E 16 τὴν πρὸς sscr H 17 καὶ εἰ A κἂν E 17-18 εἰ . . . κέκτηνται om H 18 τύχωσι κεκτημένα E ἰδοὺ γὰρ om E 19 μηκέτι ὂν ἅτε AB ὂν E (om μηκ. et ἅτε) ἅτε om H: transposui, μηκέτι ὑπὸ πτῶσιν ὂν μηδὲ πάθος tentat op (om ἅτε) cf 251,7. ὂν ad μέτρον referendum est 19 ὑπέδειξε E 20 τῇ ὁδῷ EH verba τοῦ χαρίσματος ἦγουν post ὁδὸν add B; χαρίσματος varia lectio fuit pro χριστιανισμοῦ, sed falsa

ὥστε καὶ γλώσσας ἀγγέλων καὶ προφητείαν καὶ πίστιν καὶ Gr. 60, 11-12
πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων μηδὲν εἶναι ὡς
πρὸς σύγκρισιν τῆς ἀκροτάτης ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ πληρώματος
τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς τελειότητος, καίπερ κἀκεῖνα τοῦ αὐτοῦ
πνεύματος ὄντα ἐνεργήματα. ἀλλ' ἵνα, ἐάν τις ἐκείνων τῶν Gr. 60, 13-17
χαρισμάτων καταξιωθῇ, μὴ νομίσῃ διὰ τὴν καινοτέραν τῆς
χάριτος ἐνέργειαν εἰς τὸ τέλειον ἐφθακέναι καὶ ὡς μηκέτι
χρῄζων τινὸς οἰηθεὶς ἀπομείνῃ τῶν τελείων τῆς ἀπαθείας
μέτρων, ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι χαρίσμασι μόνον ἐμπληροφορού-
μενος, διὰ τοῦτο τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς τελειότητος ὑπέδειξεν,
ἵνα ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν πτωχὸν ἀπὸ τηλικούτου πλούτου ἐπιγι-
νώσκων ἀπαύστως ἀνενδότως τὸν καλὸν ἀγωνίζηται ἀγῶνα,
καὶ τὸν πνευματικὸν δρόμον οὕτως τρέχῃ, ἕως οὗ καταλάβῃ,
καθὼς εἴρηκεν· Οὕτως τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε.

Ἰδοὺ πῶς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τελειότητος ὅρον καὶ
σκοπὸν καὶ κανόνα διὰ πολλῶν εἰς φανερὸν πᾶσι τίθησιν
ἐπευχόμενος τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πάντας φθάσαι·
πάλιν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑτέρῳ δεικνύων τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ γινομένην
καινότητα καὶ μεταβολὴν τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν
κύριόν φησιν· Οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, Gr. 61, 8-11
ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις· καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχοῦσιν
εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ.
καὶ πάλιν· Εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθε. Gr. 61, 11-12
διὰ μιᾶς λέξεως τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως τὸν ἀποστολικὸν κανόνα

A(B)EH 1 γλώσσαις A 2 τὴν ante γνῶσιν add EH, om AB 3 τὸ πλήρωμα EH 4 καὶ post ἀγάπης add H 5 ἐάν om EH 6 καταξιωθεὶς AEH 7 πεφθακέναι B καὶ om E 8 χρήζων AEH χρήζειν B οἰηθεὶς 'inflatus falsa opinione' ἀπαθείας: ἀγάπης E 9-10 post ἐμπληροφορούμενος expl. fol 5ᵛ cod B, post quod aliquot folia exciderunt. hinc textus usque ad p. 256, 14 solis codicibus AH et verbis Ephraemi nititur 10 τὸν et τῆς om EH 11 πτωχὸν ἑαυτὸν E post ἀπὸ add τοῦ EH τῆς ἀγάπης post πλούτου add E 12 καὶ post ἀπαύστως add EH ἀγωνίζητε E ἀγωνίζεται A 13 post δρόμον add ἵν' A, καὶ add H 14 εἴρηται H fort recte 16 φανερῶν A, cf. p. 252, 1 τίθησι πᾶσιν H 17 πάντας om H 18 ἐν ἑτέρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς EH 19 κρείττονα post μετ. add E 20 γὰρ om E περιτομή τί ἐστιν E 21 στοιχήσουσιν H

εἰς φανερὸν τέθεικεν· ἡ δὲ καινὴ κτίσις τί ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἤ,
Gr. 61, 14-17 καθὼς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει· Ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔνδοξον, μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν
Gr. 61, 17 sq. τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ ἄμωμος, τὴν παντελῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ
5 αἴσχους καθαρότητα, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ παντελὴς τῶν παθῶν ἀπαλ-
λαγή, καὶ τὴν πλήρη τῆς θείας τοῦ πνεύματος δυνάμεως
ἄρρητον καὶ μυστικὴν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ κοινωνίαν, ἐν καρδίαις
ἁγίων ἐνεργουμένην, καινοτέρας ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν καὶ πνευ-
ματικῆς ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἀπολαύσεως κατηξιωμένων, ταύτην εἶναι
Gr. 62, 1-2 10 τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴν κτίσιν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐδίδαξεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὸ Ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα·
Gr. 62, 3-4 καὶ τὸ Ἑορτάζομεν μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις
εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας, τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν παρίστησι. καὶ
διὰ τὸ μὴ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι <πρὸς τὴν> πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς
15 ἐξουσίας καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας πάλην ἀναλαβεῖν
ἡμᾶς τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ προτρέπεται· τὸν θώρακα τῆς
δικαιοσύνης ἐνδύσασθε καὶ ὑποδήσασθε τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἑτοι-
μασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ περιζώσασθε τὴν
ὀσφὺν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀναλα-
Gr. 62, 12 20 βόντες, δι' ἧς φησι δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ
τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι, ἅπερ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν μιαρῶν παθῶν
Gr. 62, 14 ἐνέργειαι· Καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε καὶ
τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ πνεύματος μάχαιραν, ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα θεοῦ.
Gr. 62, 16 διὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν προειρημένων πνευματικῶν

AEH 1 τέθηκεν E ἐστιν: σημαίνει E 2 ἀλλαχοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς EH ἑαυτὸν E 3 ἔνδοξον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ E 4 ἀπὸ om H 5 παντελὴς om E 8 καὶ om E 9 κατηξιωμένων E (scil ἁγίων, cf 7-8): κατηξιωμένοις A καταξιουμένοις H 10 τὴν om H καινὴν ἐν X. EH 12 ἑορτάζομεν AH; mutare nolui cum in quibusdam codicibus NT reperiatur: ἑωρτάζωμεν (sic) E 14 στῆναι ante πρὸς add H de coniectura ut vid πρὸς τὴν supplevi, cf ad 15 τὰς pr om E 15 τὴν πρὸς ante τὰ add E de coniectura: om AH πάλην cum E scripsi: πάλιν AH 16 ἡμᾶς post θεοῦ coll E 17 ἐνδύσασθαι A καὶ om E ὑποδήσασθαι A ὑποδύσασθε H 18 περιζώσασθαι A 19 δὲ τούτοις post πᾶσι add E, δὲ add H 20 βέλη: μέλει E 23 ἁγίαν om H μ. τοῦ πν. EH 24 ὅπως ante διὰ add E ἡμετέραν: ἀνθρωπίνην E

ὅπλων ἰσχύσειν στῆναι πρὸς τὰς χαλεπὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου ὁ ἀπόστολος ὑπέδειξε, τὸν δὲ τρόπον, δι' οὗ ταῦτα κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα, ἀκριβῶς ἐπεσημειώσατο εἰπών· Gr. 62, 17

Διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει καὶ δεήσει· διὸ καὶ ἐπεύχεται τοῖς πᾶσι λέγων· Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. καὶ πάλιν· Ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη. ἰδοῦ κατὰ πόσον τρόπον εἰς φανερὸν τέθεικε τὴν εὐθεῖαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁδὸν καὶ τὸν ἄκρον τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ σκοπόν, πάντας προτρεπόμενος καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν φθάσαι εἰς αὐτόν, εἰς ὃν οἱ φιλαλήθεις ἀποβλέποντες καὶ παντελῶς ἀκμητὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι πίστει καὶ ἐλπίδι καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καταστάσει εὔχονται καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰς αὐτὸν καταντῆσαι. οὗτοι γὰρ δυνήσονται καὶ τὰς μεγάλας ἐντολάς, εἰς ἃς ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμανται, τὸ Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, πάσης κακίας ἀπαλλαγέντες καθαρῶς καὶ τελείως καὶ ἀμώμως ἀποπληρῶσαι. Gr. 63, 1-3 Gr. 63, 4-6 Gr. 63, 7-9 Gr. 63, 9 sq. Gr. 63, 10-11 Gr. 63, 15 Gr. 63, 16-19 Gr. 63, 14

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐδόξαμεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον παρατεῖναι τὴν διήγησιν Gr. 64, 1 Gr. 63, 20

(A)EH 1 ἰσχύσωμεν E ἴσχυσε H 2 ὁ ἀπόστολος ὑπέδειξε om E 3 ὑπεσημειώσατο EH 5 τοῦτο post αὐτὸ add E 5-6 προσκαρτεροῦντες καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει E 6 τοῖς πᾶσι om A 8 καὶ πατρὸς om H 9 εἴη post πάντων coll E ὑμῶν om E 11 τηρηθείη post 10 ἀμέμπτως coll EH sed cf I Thess 2, 10 11-12 πολλοὺς τρόπους EH, an πόσους? 12 τέθηκε E 15 παντοίως AH ἀκμητὶ E: τῇ ἀκμῇ AH 17 ἐπιθυμῶσιν E 19 τὸ om E 20 ψυχῆς ... καρδίας E καὶ ἐξ ... ἰσχύος σου om E 21 ἑαυτόν EH 22 ταύτας post ἀποπληρῶσαι add E post ἀμώμως ἀποπληρῶσαι deficit cod A; verba inde a 23 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐδόξαμεν usque ad p. 256, 13 πρῶτον πάντων ὁ τῷ σκοπῷ τῆς a solo Ephraem et codice Hierosolymitano Graece servata sunt, sed etiam in versione Araba extant 23 πλείω H, om ἐπὶ

περὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὁποῖον ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος καὶ
οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ παραδιδόασι,
διὰ πολλῶν μαρτυριῶν παριστῶντες, οὐκ ἀκαίρως πεποιη-
Gr. 64, 6-8 κέναι ἡγούμεθα, ἵνα ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀναμφισβητήτως
καὶ ἀδιστάκτως πεπληροφορημένοι ὦμεν, τίς ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπὶς
τῆς πίστεως καὶ τίς ὁ σκοπὸς καὶ ὁποῖος ἡμῖν ὁ δρόμος
πρόκειται, μάλιστα οἱ τὸν μονήρη βίον ἀναδεξάμενοι καὶ
δεσμῶν κοσμικῶν καὶ σαρκικῆς κοινωνίας ἑαυτοὺς ἄραντες
καὶ παρθενεύειν ἐν κυρίῳ ἠρημένοι, ἵνα προσέχων ἕκαστος
καὶ ἑκάστη, ποῦ κέκληται καὶ εἰς οἷον μέτρον φθάσαι
Gr. 64, 9 ὀφείλει, πάσης μὲν οἰήσεως διά τινα γεγενημένα κατορθώ-
ματα παύσωνται, ὄντως μηδὲν εἶναι ἑαυτοὺς ἡγούμενοι διὰ
τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ τελείου τῆς κλήσεως μέτρου καὶ τοῦ
ἀνεξιχνιάστου πλούτου τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παντὶ δὲ
τρόπῳ καὶ παντὶ σθένει καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ
Gr. 64, 10-11 ἀγαθὸν πάντοτε προθύμως ἐπιδιδῶσι, κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ
κυρίου μετὰ πάντων τῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔτι καὶ τὴν
Gr. 64, 15-16 ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν ἀρνούμενοι, τὸν σταυρὸν καθ' ἡμέραν αἴροντες
Gr. 63, 17 μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες αὐτῷ, αὐτὸν
ἔχοντες τὸν κύριον ἐν πᾶσι τύπον καὶ ὁδὸν καὶ ὑπογραμμὸν
Gr. 64, 19 καὶ σκοπὸν ἡμῖν γεγενημένον κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· Μιμηταί μου
Gr. 63, 20-65, 1 γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάλιν· Δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχω-
μεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστε-
ως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν, ὃς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης
αὐτῷ χαρᾶς ὑπέμεινε σταυρὸν αἰσχύνης καταφρονήσας ἐν
Gr. 65, 1 δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θεοῦ κεκάθικε· μή ποτε γὰρ ἐμπληροφορούμενοι

EH 3 ἀκαίρως H: ἀγνῶς E 5 ἡ om E 6 κλήσεως H ὁ om H 7 μονηρίβιον E τοῖς . . . ἀναδεξαμένοις H καὶ: οἱ H an recte? 9 παρθένοι μένειν E ἠρημένοι correxi: εἰρημένοι E προηρημένοι H προσέχωμεν E 10 ὁποῖον H φθάσαι E: καταντῆσαι H 11 ὀφείλῃ E 12 παύσονται E 16 ἐπιδιδῶσι correxi: ἐπιδίδωσι H ἐπιδιδόντες E et καὶ ante κατὰ add E quod si recipis nil correspondet verbis 11 πάσης μὲν οἰήσεως . . . παύσωνται τὸ λόγιον H 17 τῶν om H immo ἀγαθῶν vel aliquid simile excidisse vid 19 χαρᾶς καὶ om E 20 ἐν πᾶσι om H ὁδὸν καὶ om E 25 καταφρονῶν E 26 τοῦ θρόνου ante τοῦ θεοῦ add E

καὶ ἐπαναπαυόμενοι ἐπί τισι τοῦ πνεύματος χαρίσμασιν ἢ
ἐπ' ὀλίγοις τισὶ κατορθώμασι καὶ ὡς ἤδη εἰς τὸ τέλειον Gr. 65, 2 sq.
καταντήσαντες πανουργίᾳ κακίας οἰήσει δικαιοσύνης ἀπατη-
θῶμεν, ἀπομένοντες ἐκ τῶν μειζόνων τοῦ πνεύματος προ-
κοπῶν· ἀλλ' ὡς φιλαλήθεις μέχρι τέλους τὸν πόνον καὶ τὴν Gr. 65, 8 sq.
θλῖψιν καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ δρόμον ἄπαυστον ἔχωμεν, ὀσημέραι ἐπὶ Gr. 65, 11-12
τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενοι πάντοτε καὶ τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐπι-
λανθανόμενοι, πεινῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, Gr. 65, 13-14
συντετριμμένην ἔχοντες τὴν καρδίαν, ἅτε δὴ μηδέπω φθά- Gr. 65, 12
σαντες εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθημεν κλῆσιν μηδὲ κατειληφότες τὸ τέλειον
τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μέτρον μηδὲ φθάσαντες ἀκμὴν εἰς τὴν
τελείαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγάπην· οἱ γὰρ ὄντως ἐπιθυμοῦντες
τυχεῖν τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ προδηλωθέντος ἀκροτάτου σκο-
ποῦ τέτρωνται ἀεὶ τῷ πόθῳ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν τῆς ἀνεκλαλήτου Gr. 65, 21
τελειότητος κλῆσιν, ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι καλῶν, Gr. 65, 18
δικαιοσύνης νηστειῶν ἢ ἀγρυπνιῶν ἢ ἐλεημοσυνῶν ἢ χαρισ- Gr. 65, 23-66, 1
μάτων τοῦ πνεύματος μετοχῇ, πληροφορούμενοι καὶ ἐνα-
πομένοντες ἕως ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς· ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς
καὶ καλοῖς καὶ πάσαις ἀρεταῖς ὁλοτελῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδιδόντες
καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεῖς διαμένοντες ἕνεκεν ἀρετῆς οὐδέποτε δό-
ξουσι πληροῦν νόμον σοφίας· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ὄντες παρὰ θεοῦ Gr. 66, 2-4
τίμιοι ἑαυτοὺς ἀναξίους ἡγοῦνται, καὶ ὄντες ἐν πνευματικῇ
προκοπῇ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἀρχόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, καὶ ὄντες Gr. 66, 4-6
μεγάλοι ἑαυτοὺς ἐξουθενοῦσι καὶ ὡς μηδὲν ὄντας κρίνουσι·
καὶ οὕτως καθ' ὅσον ἐπίστευσαν καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἠγάπησαν Gr. 66, 8-9
τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν εὐαγγελιῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολήψονται.
αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ εὐαρεστῆσαι τῷ θεῷ δυνήσονται καὶ τῆς
βασιλείας κληρονόμοι γενέσθαι, αἱ συντετριμμένην ἔχουσαι Gr. 65, 13
τὴν καρδίαν καὶ πτωχαὶ τῷ πνεύματι, πεινῶσαι <δ'> ἀεὶ καὶ Gr. 66, 13-14

EH 1 ἀναπαυόμενοι H 2 τισὶ om H fort recte 4 ἀπομεί-
ναντες E μεγάλων H 5 τὴν om H 6 ἄπαυστον ἔχωμεν
om H ἐπαυξήσωμεν post ὀσημέραι add H 8 ἀεὶ om H
διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου παραίνεσιν post δικαιοσύνην add H 9 τὴν
καρδίαν ἔχοντες H ὡς ἅτε H var lect est 17-18 ἐναπομέ-
νοντες 'acquiescentes' 20-21 δόξουσι scripsi: δόξωσι EH
25 καθὼς E 29 δ' addidi ἀεὶ om E

διψῶσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῶν τελείων ἐφιέμεναι τιμῶν διὰ τὴν ἄκραν αὐτῶν πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπην ἄκροις δώροις ἀμειφθήσονται.

Gr. 66, 14 sq. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ σκοποῦ, οἷον ὀφείλουσιν ἔχειν μάλιστα οἱ τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐπανῃρημένοι καὶ παρθενίαν
Gr. 66, 15-16 ἀσπασάμενοι, αὐτάρκως εἴρηται· περὶ δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκροτήσεως τῶν μοναστηρίων τῆς ἀδελφότητος
Gr. 66, 17 πῶς τε ὀφείλουσι συνδιάγειν καὶ συνδιατελεῖν ἀλλήλοις, δι' ὁποίων τε πόνων καὶ ἱδρώτων καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως τοῦ προειρημένου τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοποῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν οἱ φιλαλήθεις δύνανται
Gr. 66, 18 ἀναγκαῖον διαλαλῆσαι, ὅπως καὶ τὴν ἀπάγουσαν ὁδὸν εἰς τὴν οὐράνιον πόλιν προθύμως οἱ σπουδαῖοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι ταύτης ἐπιβάντες οὕτως τρέχωσιν ἕως οὗ καταλάβωσι. πρῶτον πάντων ὁ τῷ σκοπῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας τρέχων καὶ τοῖς ἴχνεσι τοῦ κυρίου βαίνειν ἐπιθυμῶν ἀναχωρήσας τε τοῦ βίου καὶ
Gr. 67, 1 τῶν σαρκικῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῇ ἀδελφότητι ἔκδοτον
Gr. 66, 20 sq. δεδωκώς, ἀρνησάμενος κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πατέρα μητέρα, τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκα, ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφάς, συγγένειαν πλοῦτον δόξαν εὐγένειαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ἐλθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ μέστωμα πάντων τῶν καλῶν [τοῦτο προσθῆ· ἔτι], ἔτι δὲ
Gr. 67, 2-3 καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀρνήσεται. τί δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἄρνησις τῆς

(B)EH 4 ὁποῖον E 5 οἱ μάλιστα H μονηρήβιον E cf. p. 254, 7 6 καὶ ante περὶ add E, verbum 4-5 litt exp H ἐπισυναγωγῆς H 8-9 καὶ διὰ ποίων H, om τε 10 σκοποῦ τ. εὐσ. E 11 ὅπως . . . 13 καταλάβωσι om H sed ante πρῶτον signum··lac indicat τὴν: τῆς E inde a 14 εὐσεβείας τρέχων cod B post magnam lacunam denuo incipit fol 7r (folium 6 quod antecedit errore huc delatum et post fol 12v collocandum esse cognovit Dörries op cit p. 145) 16 σαρκ. BH: κοσμικῶν E 16-17 ἔκδοτον δεδωκὼς non mutandum: cf 257,1 18 γυναῖκα, τέκνα (om καὶ) EH καὶ ἀδελφὰς om E καὶ alt om H 19 καὶ om H ἐλθὼν BH: γενόμενος E post ἐλθὼν spatium B et in marg sup paginae 19 ὡς ἐπὶ . . . 20 τοῦτο προσθῆ· ἔτι add B², eadem (om ἔτι pr) in textu habent EH sed al man προσθεῖναι corr et σπουδασάτω sscr H. correctoris verba τοῦτο προσθῆ· ἔτι delevi cf ad p. 168 sq. ἐπιμέστωμα E hoc loco apparet textum codicum EH et B ad eundem mendosum archetypum redire cf. p. 168 sq. 21 ἀρνήσεται om EH τίς E verba τί δέ ἐστι in marg B² ut vid

ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἢ τὸ ἔκδοτον ἑαυτὸν ὁλοτελῶς τῇ ἀδελφότητι
δοῦναι καὶ τὰ ἴδια θελήματα μὴ ἐπιτελεῖν ὅλως, ἀλλὰ τῷ Gr. 67, 3-4
λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκρεμάσαντα ἑαυτὸν πάντοτε ἐκεῖθεν ταῖς
ἁγίαις καὶ καθαραῖς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐννοίαις τὴν ψυχὴν κατα-
κοσμεῖσθαι καὶ ταύτας σωτηριώδεις καὶ ἡδείας ἡγεῖσθαι·
μὴ ἔχειν δέ τι ὅλως ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐκτὸς οὗ φορεῖ ἐνδύματος, Gr. 67, 8-9
ἵνα πάντοθεν ἀμέριμνος εἶναι δύνηται, τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα Gr. 67, 11-12
αὐτῷ μόνον μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐπιτελῶν· καὶ ὡς ἠγορασμένος δοῦλος Gr. 67, 13-14
εὐγνώμων πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς προεστῶ- Gr. 67, 11-12
τας, κατὰ πάντα ὡς κυρίους καὶ δεσπότας διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν Gr. 68, 1-3
ἡγείσθω, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος εἶπεν· Ὁ θέλων ἐν ὑμῖν
εἶναι πρῶτος καὶ μέγας, ἔστω πάντων ἐσχατώτερος καὶ
πάντων διάκονος καὶ πάντων δοῦλος, μὴ δόξαν ἢ τιμὴν ἢ Gr. 68, 4-6
ἔπαινον, ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῆς διακονίας ἢ τῆς πολιτείας
παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν θηρεύων κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον·
Διακονῶν μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείᾳ ὡς
ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλος Χριστοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐκδεδω- Gr. 68, 6-7
κὼς ἑαυτὸν τῇ στενῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τεθλιμμένῃ ὁδεύετω, ὡς τῆς
βασιλείας ἐραστὴς ὤν, καὶ τὸν ἐλαφρὸν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Gr. 68, 8-9
χρηστὸν ζυγὸν προθύμως καὶ μετὰ ἀγαλλιάσεως ὑπεισελθών,
ἅτε δὴ μεγάλης σωτηρίας ἑαυτῷ πρόξενος γενόμενος, ἐὰν
μετὰ μακροθυμίας καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἕως τέλους ἐμμείνῃ τῇ Gr. 68, 9
καλῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ψυχωφελεῖ δουλείᾳ, πάντας κυρίους ὡς

BEH 1 ἢ om E 2 τὰ om E ἐκτελεῖν E 3 ἐκκρεμάσας BH πάντοτε om E 4 τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἐντ. E 5 ὡς ante ἡδείας add BH ἡδείας B: οἰκείας E ἰδίας H 6 δὲ ὅλως τί E om τι, post ὅλως sscr H 7 δύναται EH 8 ἐπιτελῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς coll et πάντοτε add E post ἠγορασμένος add τιμίῳ αἵματι Χριστοῦ καὶ ὡς E sed cf Greg *De inst Chr* 67, 14 9 δὲ om H 10 διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν om E 12 ἔσχατος ex Script corr EH sed praestat vulgaris forma 13 ἢ pr: καὶ E 14 ἐπ': ἐν EH 14 διακονοῦντες EH ex Eph 6, 7 corr vid ἐννοίας E ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ δουλίας E 17 ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι et δοῦλοι EH τοῦ Χριστ. H διὰ τὸν κύριον BH (χν̄) 17-18 δεδωκὼς B ἐκδεδωκότες ἑαυτοὺς H 18 ὁδεύειν BH καὶ ante ὡς add E ὢν καὶ om E 19-20 καὶ χρηστὸν post 19 ἐλαφρὸν coll E 20 ὑπεισερχέσθω E 21 πρόξενος ἑαυτῷ γινόμενος E 22 ἐν ante τῇ add E 23 δὲ post πάντας add E

Χριστοῦ οἰκείους καὶ τῆς βασιλείας κληρονόμους ἐνοπτρι-
Gr. 68, 12 ζόμενος καὶ πᾶσαν ὑποταγὴν ἑκάστῳ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς
Gr. 68, 13 προεστῶσιν ἀσκηταῖς καὶ τὰ βάρη τῶν φροντίδων τῆς
Gr. 68, 12 ἀρετῆς ἀναδεδεγμένοις ἀποπληρῶν, πάντοτε χρεώστην ἑαυ-
τὸν ἡγούμενος τῆς μετὰ ἀγάπης καὶ ἁπλότητος πρὸς τοὺς
ἀδελφοὺς διακονίας κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· Διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης
δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις, καὶ πάλιν· Μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε, εἰ
μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν.

Gr. 68, 15 Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀσκηταὶ οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς ἀδελφότη-
Gr. 68, 16 sq. τος ὡς μεγάλου ἔργου ἐπιλαβόμενοι οὕτως ἀγωνίζεσθε διὰ τῆς
ταπεινοφροσύνης πρὸς τὰς τῆς κακίας ἐντέχνους μεθοδείας,
Gr. 69, 3 ἵνα μὴ πάθει ὑπερηφανίας ὡς κατεξουσιάζοντες τῶν ὑπο-
τεταγμένων ὑμῖν ἀδελφῶν κατεπαιρόμενοι ἀντὶ μεγίστου
κέρδους ζημίαν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ βλάβος μέγιστον προξενήσητε.
Gr. 69, 6 ἀλλ' ὡς εὔσπλαγχνοι πατέρες δουλεύειν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὸν
θεὸν ἐκδεδωκότες τῇ ἀδελφότητι ὑπὲρ κυριεύειν καὶ εἰς
πάντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φροντίζοντες σωματικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς
cf. Gr. 69, 9 καὶ ἑκάστῳ τὸ ὠφελοῦν τῇ ψυχῇ σπουδάζοντες ὡς τέκνων θεοῦ
Gr. 69, 11 ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθε, ἵν' οὕτως πᾶν τὸ ἱερὸν συγκρότημα τῆς
ἀδελφότητος εἰς πνευματικὸν κέρδος περιποιούμενοι καὶ
Gr. 69, 12-13 περιθάλποντες τὸν ἐπουράνιον μισθὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀπολήψεσθε·
καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸ προφανὲς τὴν τάξιν τοῦ προεστῶτος φυλάττετε,
οἷον τὸ διατάξασθαι ἢ ἐπιτάξαι ἢ συμβουλεῦσαι τοῖς δοκιμω-
τέροις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἢ ἐπιτιμῆσαί τινι ἢ ἐλέγξαι ὅπου χρὴ

BEH 1 Χριστῶ B τοῦ ante Χριστοῦ postea add H 1-2 ἐνοπτριζόμενος: κατανοείτω E 2 ὑποταγὴν πᾶσαν B πᾶσαν om H 3 ἀσκηταῖς: τῶν ἀδελφῶν E τ. φροντίδων om H 4 ἀρετῆς: μονῆς EH cf 17 ἀναδεδεγμένος E 4-5 ἡγ. ἑαυτὸν EH 6 post εἰρημένον verba διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις, καὶ πάλιν· om BH; cf Gal 5, 13 7 ὀφείλοντες B; cf Rom 13, 8 10 μέγα ἔργον H ἀγωνίσασθε E 12-13 ὑποτεταγμένων ὑμῖν om E ὑμῖν in marg add B καὶ ἀντεπαιρόμενοι αὐτῶν E 14 βάρος H 15-16 ἐκδ. δ. τ. θεὸν H εἴπερ H εἰς om E 18 ἑκάστου E τὸ ὄφελος τῆς ψυχῆς EH (ὄφελος) τὴν ψυχὴν correxerim 19 τὴν ante ἐπιμέλειαν add E 20 περιποιούμενοι καὶ om B propter homoearcton aberrans 21 θεοῦ: Χριστοῦ EH ἀπολήψησθε H alt η in ras: ἵνα cum futuro velut ὅπως 22 οὖν post μὲν add E φυλάττοντα(?) H

ἢ παρακαλέσαι ὅπου δέοι κατὰ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν παράγγελμα,
ἵνα μὴ προφάσει ταπεινότητος ἢ πραότητος δι' ἄγνοιαν
ἐν συγχύσει ᾖ τὰ μοναστήρια, τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν Gr. 69, 13
προεστώτων καὶ τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων μὴ ἀποσῳζόντων· εἰς Gr. 69, 14-16
δὲ τὸ κρυπτὸν κατὰ τὸν νοῦν ὡς δούλους ἀναξίους πάντων
τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὡς παιδαγωγοὶ καλοὶ δεσ-
ποτικὰ τέκνα ἐμπιστευθέντες, μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ φόβου Gr. 69, 17-18
θεοῦ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀδελφῶν καταρτίζειν εἰς πᾶν ἀγαθὸν
σπουδάζετε ὡς εἰδότες, ὅτι μέγας ὑμῖν καὶ ἀναφαίρετος Gr. 69, 16
μισθὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου καμάτου παρὰ θεῷ τετήρηται.
καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ παιδαγωγοῦντες τοὺς παῖδας πολλάκις τοὺς Gr. 69, 19-21
ἰδίους δεσπότας μαθημάτων χάριν ἢ καταστάσεως ἠθῶν μὴ
φειδόμενοι καὶ μάστιξι παιδεύουσι, πολλὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ
σπουδὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἐλπίδι τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς
φρονίμους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἐν κόσμῳ, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταὶ μὴ Gr. 70, 2 sq.
πάθει θυμοῦ ἢ ὑψηλοφροσύνης ἀμύνεσθε τοὺς ἀπαιδευτοῦντας
καὶ νηπιάζοντας ἀδελφούς, ἀλλ' εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ Χριστοῦ καὶ
σκοπῷ πνευματικῆς ὠφελείας καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ χρησιμεῦσαι
τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν παιδαγωγουμένους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν
οὐρανῶν. ἐν τοιούτῳ φρονήματι ἐπιστρέφετε τὴν τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν νηπιότητα, ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ὡς προείρηται, Gr. 70, 5-7
εἴτε παρακλήσει εἴτε ἐπιτιμήσει προσφερόμενοι. μόνον ζήλῳ
θεοῦ καὶ σπλάγχνοις Χριστοῦ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ποιεῖσθε, καὶ Gr. 69, 21
μὴ πάθει κακίας ὡς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες ἀμύνεσθε, ἵνα

BEH 1 παρακαλεῖσθαι E; cf illud παρακαλῶ tam usitatum in sermonibus 2 ταπεινώσεως E ταπεινότητος ἢ in marg scr B πραύτητος B 4 ὑπερβεβηκότων E; cf 260, 5 ἀποσώζοντες H 6 ἡγεῖσθε correxi: ἡγεῖσθαι 9 σπουδαζέτωσαν H ὑμῖν om E 10 τούτου τοῦ καμ. H ἡμῖν post τετήρηται add E 12 κατάστασιν EH an πρὸς excidit? 13 ἔννοιαν E 14 αὐτοὺς om E 15 ἀσκηταί: προεστῶτες E; cf 258, 9 16 ἢ: καὶ E 17 Χριστοῦ: θεοῦ H 19 ἡμῶν H εἰς om E τῇ βασιλείᾳ E 20 τούτῳ E; cf 260, 3 ἐπιστρέφετε BH: καταρτίζειν σπουδάζετε E 21 πρὸς τὸ om H ὡς προείρηται om H 22 παράκλησιν . . . ἐπιτίμησιν H προσφερόμενοι correxi: προφερόμενοι E, om BH 23 ποιούμενοι H ex coniectura ut vid, immo ante 22 μόνον interpunxi; saepe auctor admonitionem a μόνον cum imperativo incipit

τέλειον ὑμῶν ὅνπερ διὰ θεὸν ἀνεδέξασθε κάματον ἀποδεί-
Gr. 70, 19 ξαντες τῆς ἐπουρανίου βασιλείας ἔσεσθε κληρονόμοι. οὕτως
Gr. 70, 15-19 γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ ἀγγελικὸς βίος ἐπὶ γῆς, ὅταν τοιούτῳ
φρονήματι κατηρτισμένοι ὦσι καὶ οἱ προεστῶτες καὶ οἱ
ὑποβεβηκότες· ὅταν ἀλλήλοις πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ μετὰ πάσης
χαρᾶς ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλους κυρίους ἡγήσωνται καὶ τῇ
Gr. 70, 20-1 τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγήσωνται. ἁπλότητι οὖν καὶ ἀκεραιότητι
καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀφελότητι καρδίας μετὰ πάσης
Gr. 69, 20 ταπεινώσεως οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὀφείλουσι συνεῖναι ἀλλήλοις. μηδεὶς
κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐπαιρόμενος ἑαυτὸν μείζονα καὶ κρείττονα
Gr. 71, 1-3 κἂν τοῦ τυχόντος ἡγείσθω, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἐνδεέστερον πάν-
των ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτὸν ἡγείσθω ὡς μαθητὴς Χριστοῦ, καθὼς
Gr. 71, 4 εἶπεν αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος· Ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται καὶ
Gr. 71, 6 ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται· καὶ πάλιν· Ὁ θέλων ἐν
ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, ἔστω πάντων ἔσχατος καὶ πάντων διά-
Gr. 71, 7 κονος· καθὼς καὶ Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε διακο-
νηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον
Gr. 71, 9-11 ἀντὶ πολλῶν. καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος· Οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν
ἀλλὰ κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ
Ἰησοῦ.
Gr. 71, 13 Παρακαλοῦμεν οὖν ὑμᾶς ὡς μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ εἶναι βου-
λόμενοι εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἀλλήλων καὶ ὑποταγὴν καὶ χρηστὴν

(A)BEH 1 τὸν ante θεὸν add EH ἀναδέχεσθε EH 1-2 ἀνα-
δείξαντες B 2 οὐρανίου E ἔσεσθε BH: γίνησθε et post κλη-
ρονόμοι coll E; cf 258, 21 3 ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ ἀγγ. βίος B sed verba
transposuit ead man numeralium litterulis additis ὁ om E
ἐπὶ γῆς om H 4 καὶ pr om E 5 ὑπερβεβηκότες E ὑποβε-
βηκότες ex ἐπιβ. corr H cf ad p. 259, 4 ἀλλήλους E 6 ἀλλή-
λων E 7 προηγούμενοι E οὖν om H 8-9 μετὰ . . . ἀδελφοὶ
om E 9 ὀφείλουσι post ἀλλήλοις coll E, post συνεῖναι coll H
10 κρείττονα ἢ μείζονα EH 11 ἡγούμενος E 12 τοῦ Χρ. H
13 εἶπεν post κύριος coll E 13-14 καὶ ὁ ταπεινῶν . . . ὑψωθή-
σεται om B 16 καὶ om E ἀνθρώπου: θεοῦ E 19 Χῦ Ἰῦ κῦ E
20 Ἰησοῦν E; cf II Cor 4, 5 ubi variae extant lectiones
21 inde a Παρακαλοῦμεν denuo incipit codex A (fol 9v), qui
praecedentia omisit; cf ad p. 253, 22 22 ἀλλήλων post ὑπο-
ταγεῖν (sic) coll E

δουλείαν· εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ <εἰς> τὸ ὑπεραποθανεῖν τοῦ πλησίον Gr. 71, 13-14
ἑαυτοὺς εὐτρεπίσωμεν, ἔχοντες τὸν κύριον τύπον καὶ ὑπο- Gr. 71, 15
γραμμὸν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς συνεργὸν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρη-
μένον· Τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν,
ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ ἁπλότητος καὶ ἀζηλίας καὶ ἀτυφίας
ὁ σύνδεσμος τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι τοῦ Gr. 71, 16
Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι φυλάσσεσθαι δύνηται, ὑποτασσο-
μένων, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Gr. 71, 17-18
ἕκαστος οὖν ἐν τοιούτοις ἤθεσιν εἶναι βουλόμενος πρὸ πάντων Gr. 71, 20
καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀγάπην καὶ τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ, Gr. 71, 21
ἥτις ἐστὶν <ἡ> πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολή, ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ καρδίᾳ
σπουδαζέτω καὶ ζητείτω παρὰ θεοῦ ἀδιαλείπτως ἔχειν καὶ διὰ
τῆς συνεχοῦς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδιαλείπτου μνήμης <τοῦ> κυρίου
καὶ ἔρωτος οὐρανίου ταύτην ὁσημέραι κατὰ προκοπὴν διὰ
τῆς χάριτος ἐπαυξάνων προσκτάσθω. διὰ γὰρ πολλῆς σπου- Gr. 71, 24
δῆς καὶ πόνου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ ἀγῶνος τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
ἀγάπην κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ Χριστοῦ ἐν
ἡμῖν μορφουμένην, καθὼς ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ εἴρηται· Ἐὰν γὰρ Gr. 72, 2
ζητήσῃς αὐτὴν ὡς ἀργύριον καὶ ὡς θησαυροὺς ἐξερευνήσῃς
αὐτήν, τότε συνήσεις φόβον κυρίου καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ εὑρή-
σεις. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἐντολήν, τὴν πρὸς τὸν Gr. 72, 5-8
πλησίον ἀγάπην, εὐχερῶς καὶ καθαρῶς κατορθῶσαι δυνά-

ABEH 1 εἰς supplevi, litterae ανεῖν in ὑπεραπ. evan B ὑπεραποπαθεῖν E πλησίου E 2 τύπον evan B 3 συνεργοῦντα ἡμῖν E ὑμῶν B 4 τὸ om E 7 άσσεσ in φυλ. evan B δύναται E et H ut vid 7-8 ὑποτασσόμενοι H 8 ὡς εἴρηται om E ἀλλήλοις post 8 Χριστοῦ coll H καὶ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ om E τοῦ om H κυρίου E 9 οὖν: τοίνυν EH ὁ post οὖν sscr B^2 παντὸς H 10 πανταχῶς E καὶ πανταχοῦ om H τὸν om EH τοῦ om E 11 ἡ addidi αὐτοῦ A: om B ἑαυτοῦ EH 13 δὲ om E τοῦ addidi 14 ἔρωτος οὐρανίου EH: ἔρωτι οὐρανίου A ἔρωτι οὐρανίω B ταύτην ... 14-15 διὰ τῆς om A 15 πολλῆς: τῆς A 16 πόνου: in marg γρ τόνου B μερίμνης καὶ πόνου E νοὸς post ἀγῶνος add E ex -νος ortum? τὸν om EH 17 κτᾶσθαι E 18 μορφουμένη A καὶ ante ἐν sscr B ἐὰν: ἂν A τε post ἐάν add BH 19 ἐξ-ερευνήσῃς B alt η in ras 20 αὐτὴν eras H συνήσεις: οἴσεις E 20-21 θεοῦ ... ἐντολήν om E

μεθα. τὰ γὰρ πρῶτα προταττέσθω καὶ σπουδαζέσθω ὡς πρῶτα, καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τοῖς πρώτοις ἑπόμενα ἀκολούθως
Gr. 72, 9-10 τελεσθήσεται· ἐὰν γάρ τις ἀμελήσει τῆς μεγάλης καὶ πρώτης ἐντολῆς, τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἥτις ἀπὸ τῆς ἔνδοθεν διαθέσεως καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ ὑγιῶν τῶν πρὸς θεὸν ἐννοιῶν ἅμα καὶ βοηθείᾳ <καὶ χάριτι θείᾳ> συνίσταται, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας τὴν ἔξωθεν μόνον ἐπιμέλειαν
Gr. 72, 11 τῆς διακονίας ποιήσεται, ἀδύνατον ὑγιῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ταύτην ἐπιτελεῖν.

Gr. 72, 15 Ἡ γὰρ τῆς κακίας μέθοδος εὑρίσκουσα ἔξω μνήμης καὶ
Gr. 72, 17 ἀγάπης καὶ ζητήσεως θεοῦ τὸν νοῦν ἢ δυσχερῆ καὶ βαρέα
Gr. 72, 19-73, 1 καταφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ τὰ θεῖα ἐντάλματα, γογγυσμοὺς καὶ

ABEH 1 πρῶτα om H ταττέσθω E προτασσέσθω H προταττέσθω καὶ προτασσέσθω A ex var lect ortum καὶ σπουδαζέσθω om AE καλῶς ante ὡς add B ex nota marginali ortum ut vid 2 ἑπόμενα τοῖς πρ. A 3 ἀμελήσει E: ἀμελῆσαι θελήσει ABH (-ση BH); cf 8 ποιήσεται et p. 260, 2 3-4 πρώτης καὶ μεγ. E 4 τὸν om H 5 ἀγαθῆς in lac om B postea ante διαθέσεως sscr B^2 loco minus idoneo supra συνειδήσεως signo posito in marg add B^2 ζήτει κάτω cf ad p. 256, 19. idem verba sequentia usque ad 9 ἐπιτελεῖν circumlineavit et in marg notavit: ταῦτα μὴ γράψῃς. pro his verbis in marg inf paginae alt recensionem praebet: συνίστασθαι πέφυκεν ὑγιέσι ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ἐννοίαις καὶ τῇ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δηλαδὴ βοηθείᾳ καὶ χάριτι προσγινομένῃ τῆς δὲ δευτέρας τὴν ἔξωθεν μόνον ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς διακονίας ποιεῖσθαι βούλοιτο, ἀδύνατον ὑγιῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ταύτην ἐπιτελεῖν: ζήτει ἄνω: ἡ γὰρ (cf 10). sed haec cave in textum recipias, est enim paraphrasis loci impediti potius quam recensio integrior, nec tamen omnino inutilis est ὑγιαίνουσι H 6 ἅμα καὶ βοηθείᾳ: μετὰ θείας δυνάμεως E lacuna antiqua post βοηθείᾳ extat quam Ephr ex contextu supplere studuit, idem fecit B^2. fort homoeoteleuto aliquid excidit velut <καὶ χάριτι θείᾳ>, nam βοηθείᾳ per se non potest significare concursum divinum, quae notio hic desideratur 7 τῆς ἔξωθεν μόνον διακονίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν E 8 διανοίας A, om B διακονίας B^2 (cf ad 5) ποιεῖσθαι (ποιῆσαι H) βούλεται AEH π. βούλοιτο B^2 cf 3 γὰρ post ἀδύνατον add A ἀδ. εἰ E καθαρῶς καὶ ὑγιῶς E lac ante et post ὑγ. B 9 δυνήσεται post ἐπιτελεῖν add AEH 10 ἀπὸ τῆς post ἔξω add E μνήμης] in marg γρ ὑπομονῆς B^2 falso, nam μνήμη θεοῦ saepius apud Mac occurrit; cf p. 265, 19 11 τοῦ ante θεοῦ add E 12 καταφαίνεσθαι AH: om E καταφέρεσθαι B ποιοῦσα E 12-263, 1 καὶ λύπας om E

λύπας καὶ μέμψεις τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς γινομένης διακονίας
τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνεργαζομένη, ἣ οἰήσει δικαιοσύνης ἀπατήσασα Gr. 73, 1-2
φυσιοῖ, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἡγήσεται τίμιον καὶ μέγαν καὶ ὡς
ἄκρως κατορθοῦντα τὰς ἐντολάς. ὅταν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ οἰη- Gr. 73, 3
θῇ ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι καλὰ ἐργάζεται καὶ ἐντολὰς φυλάττει,
ἥμαρτε κρίνας ἑαυτὸν καὶ μὴ ἐκδεξάμενος τὸν κρίνοντα ἀλη-
θῶς· ὅταν γὰρ συμμαρτυρῇ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα Gr. 73, 9-10
τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ λόγιον Παύλου, τότε ἀληθῶς Χριστοῦ ἄξιοι
καὶ τέκνα θεοῦ τυγχάνομεν, οὐχ ὅταν οἰήσει ἰδίᾳ ἑαυτοὺς
δικαιώσωμεν. Οὐ γάρ, φησίν, ὁ ἑαυτὸν συνιστῶν ἐστι δόκιμος, Gr. 73, 9-12
ἀλλ' ὃν ὁ κύριος συνίστησιν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκτὸς μνήμης καὶ φόβου
θεοῦ εὑρίσκηται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀνάγκη καὶ δόξαν ζητεῖν καὶ
ἔπαινον θηρεύειν παρὰ τῶν διακονουμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ
τοιοῦτος ἄπιστος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπελέγχεται· Πῶς γάρ, Gr. 73, 19-21
φησί, δύνασθε ὑμεῖς πιστεύειν δόξαν παρὰ ἀλλήλων λαμβά-
νοντες καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ οὐ ζητεῖτε; ὁ
τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου πλύνων καὶ τῆς Gr. 74, 1-3
παροψίδος, τὸ δὲ ἔνδον γέμει ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πάσης πλεονεξίας·
ἐπὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ διάθεσις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ
καὶ ἐπιποθήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἀεὶ ἀπασχολῆται καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας τῇ Gr. 74, 10
μνήμῃ τῶν καλῶν, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ καὶ δίκαια καὶ εὔφημα Gr. 74, 6

ABEH 2 ἐνεργάζεται E ἀποστήσασα B 3 καὶ ante φυσ. add B φυσιοῖ E: φυσιώσει ABH futurum hic non desideratur, φυσιοῖ opponitur praecedenti ποιεῖ (262, 12); sequens καὶ cum fut idem est quod ὥστε ἡγήσασθαι ποιεῖ ὡς E ὡς om B 4 ἐντολάς: ἀρετάς A ὅταν E: ὅτε ABH 4-5 οἰηθῇ ἐν ἑαυτῷ E 5 ὁ ἄνθρωπος H φυλάσσει EH 6 ἑαυτῶ BH 7 ἐπὰν E 8 τὸν λόγον op 9 καὶ ante οὐχ add E ἰδίᾳ οἰήσει EH 10 συνιστάνων EH ἐστι: ἐκεῖνος E 11 ἐπὰν EH; cf 7 ἐκτὸς post θεοῦ coll EH 12 ὁ om E ἀνάγκη E 12-13 ἐπιζητεῖ et θηρεύει E ἐπιζητεῖν H 13 δὲ: γὰρ E 14 καὶ ante ἄπιστος add E τοῦ om ABH 15 ὑμεῖς δύνασθε E 16 τὴν pr om H δόξαν post θεοῦ coll H ζητεῖτε EH: ζητοῦντες AB 17 οὗτος H ἐστι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον E 17-18 τῆς παρ. κ. τοῦ ποτ. πλύνων E τοῦ ποτ. κ. τ. παρ. πλ. H 18 τὸ δὲ: οὗτος E ἐντὸς EH πάσης πλεονεξίας: ὑποκρίσεως E 19-20 εἰς τὴν μελέτην καὶ ἐπιπόθησιν EH 20 ἀεὶ om A 21-264, 1 ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἀληθεῖς καὶ δίκαιαι καὶ εὔφημοι καὶ σεμναί B

καὶ σεμνά, καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντοτε κατακοσμῇ (μετὰ δὲ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ καὶ καμάτου νοὸς τοῦτο γίνεται διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐναντίον ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἐμποδίζειν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ μὴ τῇ τῶν καλῶν μνήμῃ ἐρᾶν τῶν ἄνω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν γηίνων ἐπιθυμιῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν δελεάζοντα προσεδρεύειν· οὗτος γάρ ἐστι τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἧττα, ὅταν εἰς ἀγάπην καὶ μνήμην θεοῦ ἀσχολούμενος ὁ νοῦς εὑρίσκηται), πάντοτε ἐντεῦθεν συστῆναι δύναται καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰλικρινὴς ἀγάπη. ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ ἀληθὴς ἁπλότης καὶ ἡ πραότης καὶ ἡ ταπείνωσις καὶ ἡ ἀκεραιότης καὶ ἡ ἀγαθότης καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων ἐντολῶν διὰ τῆς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης καὶ πρώτης ἐντολῆς, τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἐξ ἀληθείας τὴν ἀκριβῆ συμπλήρωσιν λαμβάνει.

Gr. 74, 12
Gr. 74, 13-15
Gr. 74, 16-18

Ἀγῶνος οὖν πολλοῦ καὶ πόνου κρυπτοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου χρεία <καὶ> λογισμῶν ἔρευναν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἡσθενηκότα τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν αἰσθητήρια γυμνάζειν πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ δεῖ πάντοτε, καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖν διὰ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς θεὸν ἐπείξεως καὶ σπουδῆς τὰ ἐξητονηκότα τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν μέλη, τὸν νοῦν ἀνακαλουμένους πάντοτε, ἵνα γένηται

Gr. 74, 19 sq.
Gr. 75, 6 sq.
Gr. 75, 7

ABEH 1 καὶ alt om H κατακοσμεῖ AH κατὰ κόσμον E post quod addit τελείαν κατόρθωσιν λαμβάνει ex suo ut vid 1-7 parenthesin indicavi 2 ἀγῶνος δὲ E πολλοῦ om E γίνεται: κατορθοῦται E 3 τὸν pr: τὸ B; cf 6 τοῦ πονηροῦ quod est masculinum ἀεὶ ἐν scripsi: ἀεὶ E ἐν B om AH ἐμποδίζοντα H ἐμποδίζειν καὶ δελεάζειν καὶ ἁρπάζειν E τὸν νοῦν AEH: τῶ νοὶ B τοῦ om H τῇ om E 4-5 ante ἐπιθυμιῶν add ἐννοιῶν ἢ E (var lect) post ἐπιθ. add τινων E 5 τὴν προαίρεσιν δελεάζοντα προσεδρεύειν A: τὴν προαίρεσιν δελεάζειν om προσεδρεύειν EH (sed δελεάζοντα H) τῇ προαιρέσει δελεαζόμενον προσεδρεύειν B 6 ἡ om E verba ὅσον ἐξ ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς post ἧττα add E 7 πάντοτε om E 8 ἡ om A 8-9 ἀγάπη εἰλικρινής E εἰλικρινῆ ἀγάπην A 9 ἡ pr om E ἡ sec om AH 9-10 ἡ ante ταπ. eras H ἡ ante ἀγαθ. om H 12 τὸν ante θεὸν add E 14 καὶ alt om E καὶ ἀοράτου estne var lect ad κρυπτοῦ? cf 265, 2 15 καὶ ante λογισμῶν addidi, cf 17 δεῖ δεῖ post ἡσθενηκότα add E 17 δέοι AE νοὸς A 18 ἐξησθενηκότα E 19 ἡμῶν om E τοῦ νοῦ ἡμῶν προσκαλούμενοι A τοῦ νοῦ ἡμῶν προσκολλωμένου H 19-265, 1 τὸν νοῦν...

μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα κατὰ τὸ λόγιον Παύλου.
τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κρυπτὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ μελέτην κυρίου καὶ πόνον Gr. 75, 10
νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πάντας ἡμᾶς ἔχειν χρὴ εἰς πᾶσαν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἐντολῆς, ἤτοι εὐχομένων ἤτοι διακονούντων ἤτοι
5 ἐσθιόντων ἤτοι πινόντων ἢ ὁτιοῦν ποιούντων, ἵνα πᾶν ὃ Gr. 75, 14-15
γίνεται ἀγαθὸν ἀρετῆς ἐπιτήδευμα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ γίνηται
καὶ μὴ εἰς δόξαν ἡμετέραν ἐπιτελούμενον εὑρίσκηται. Gr. 75, 16-17
ἁγιάζεται γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἀκολουθία καὶ καθαρῶς
ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτελεῖται διὰ τῆς ἀδιαλείπτου μνήμης τοῦ
10 κυρίου καὶ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς θεὸν καὶ
οὕτως ἐκτὸς γινόμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ μιαίνοντος τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ
σπιλοῦντος πονηροῦ. οὕτως δὲ εὐχερῆ καὶ εὔκολα ἡμῖν Gr. 75, 20-22
πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν φανήσεται παραγγέλματα τῆς τοῦ
θεοῦ ἀγάπης ἐξευμαριζούσης τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπίπονον
15 αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τήρησιν αὐτῆς ἐκλυούσης, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
ἐντολῶν εὐμάρεια καὶ εὐκολία διὰ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἡμῶν ἀγά-
πης γενήσεται· ὅλος γὰρ ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ ἡ σπουδὴ τοῦ ἀντικει- Gr. 75, 22-24
μένου αὕτη ἐστίν, ὡς προείρηται, ἵνα δυνηθῇ τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς
πρὸς θεὸν μνήμης καὶ φόβου καὶ ἀγάπης κυρίου περισπάσαι,

Παύλου: ἐκεῖ τοῦ νοῦ ἡμῶν διαπαντὸς προκολλουμένου, ἵνα διὰ θείας χάριτος γένηται μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα κατὰ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν λόγιον E

ABEH 3 ἔχειν πάντας ἡμᾶς EH καὶ ante εἰς add E 4-5 εὐχομένους . . . διακονοῦντας . . . ἐσθίοντας . . . πίνοντας . . . ποιοῦντας E 5 ἤτοι: ἢ H ὁτιοῦν: ὅτι ἂν A ἵνα om E 6-7 γίνεται . . . εὑρίσκεται E 9 τοῦ om E 10 καὶ φόβου EHB² in marg, om AB καὶ σπουδῆς om EH τὸν ante θεὸν add EH 11 οὕτως om ABH γινώμεθα E ἀπὸ om et τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ante τοῦ add E καὶ om E 12 post σπιλοῦντος add καὶ τὸν κάματον ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περισπᾶν βουλομένου E om πονηροῦ 12 οὕτως δὲ: καὶ τότε E 13 τὰ om E παραγγέλματα φανήσεται AEH (καταφ. EH); cf 262, 12 κατα ex -ματα duplicatum vid 14 ἐν ἡμῖν post θεοῦ add E 15 αὐτῆς om E, nescio an αὐτῶν (scil τῶν ἐντολῶν) pro αὐτῆς restitui et post ἐπίπονον deleri debeat ἡ ante τῶν add EH 16 εὐτελῶν ante ἐντολῶν add B ex dittographia ortum vid τὸν θεὸν H ἡμῶν om E 17 ἐγγενήσεται E τῆς σπουδῆς AB 18 ἐστὶν αὕτη E οὗτός ἐστιν AB ὥσπερ εἴρηται E; cf 264, 3 sq. 19 τὸν θεὸν H καὶ φόβου om AB; cf 10 τῆς ante ἀγάπης add B τοῦ κυρίου E

Gr. 76, 1-2 δελεάσμασι γηίνοις χρώμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντως καλοῦ παρεκτρέπων εἰς τὰ δοκήσει ὄντα καλά. πᾶν γὰρ ὃ ἄν ποιῇ
Gr. 76, 3-5 καλὸν ἄνθρωπος, σπιλοῦν καὶ μιαίνειν ὁ πονηρὸς βούλεται
Gr. 76, 9-10 καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπισπορὰν τῆς κενοδοξίας ἢ οἰήσεως ἢ γογγυσμοῦ ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν τῇ ἐντολῇ συμμίσγειν ἀγωνίζεται, ἵνα μὴ διὰ θεὸν μόνον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀγαθὴν τὸ γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν γίνηται.

Gr. 76, 14 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξωμεν ὡς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τι λέγειν, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν ταῦτα παραστήσωμεν. γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἄβελ προσήνεγκε θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων καὶ ἀπὸ
Gr. 76, 15 τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων· καὶ Κάϊν ὁμοίως προσ-
Gr. 76, 16 ήνεγκε δῶρα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν φησι τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ
Gr. 76, 17 τῶν πρώτων καρπῶν· Καὶ ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεός, φησίν, ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις τοῦ Ἄβελ, ταῖς δὲ τοῦ Κάϊν θυσίαις οὐ προσέσχεν·
Gr. 76, 19 ὥστε ἐκ τούτου μανθάνομεν, ὅτι ἔστι τι καλὸν ἐπιτήδευμα ποιῆσαι ἀμελῶς ἢ καταφρονητικῶς ἢ δι' <ἄλλο> τι, καὶ μὴ εἶναι εὐπρόσδεκτον τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ἔστι ποιῆσαι κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, σπουδαίως καὶ νηφόντως καὶ διὰ θεὸν μόνον
Gr. 76, 20 [πιστῶς], καὶ εὐάρεστον εὑρίσκεται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ

ABEH 1 post χρώμενος add ἤ τισιν εὐλογοφανέσιν ἐννοίαις τὸν νοῦν E καὶ om AE post καλοῦ add τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης E; est explanatio 2 εἰς τὰ: ἐπὶ E ὄντος H ἂν EH: ἐὰν AB sed auctor ipse hunc Scripturae usum non sequi solet 3 ὁ ἄνθρωπος BH 5 τοιούτοις τισὶ AE τοιούτων τισὶ H 6 τὸν θεὸν EH καὶ . . . ἀγαθὴν: ταπεινοφρόνως καὶ προθύμως E ἀγαθὴν om H 7 καὶ καλὸν om A post γίνηται add γνώσεως οὖν καὶ διακρίσεως ἑκάστῳ πολλῆς χρεία, ἵνα δυνηθῇ ὁ νοῦς τὰς μεθοδείας καὶ τέχνας τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐπιγινώσκειν καὶ παντελῶς τῆς κακίας ἀπαλλοτριοῦσθαι E 8 ὡς om E 9 παραστήσομεν B γὰρ om H 11 πρωτοτοκίων B 12 post γῆς coll φησὶ A(-ιν)B, om E; postea numeris additis ante τῆς coll B, ex 13 illatum vid 13 πρωτοκάρπων A φησὶν ὁ θ. H 13-14 ante ἐπὶ τ. δ. τ. Ἄβελ add οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ Κάϊν δώροις ἀλλ' B, om AEH op τοῖς: ταῖς H τὴν E (volebat ταῖς) 14 δώροις A: θυσίαις EH, om B ταῖς δὲ τ. Κ. θυσίαις correxi: τὰς δὲ τ. Κ. θυσίας B ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς θυσίαις τ. Κ. A ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς δώροις τ. Κ. EH 15 καὶ post ὥστε add E 16 καταπεφρονημένως E ἢ δι' <ἄλλο> τι scripsi ut correspondeat verbis 18 καὶ διὰ θεὸν μόνον: ἢ διά τι ABEH ἢ δι' ἕτερόν τι καὶ οὐ διὰ θεὸν op in paraphr 19 πιστὸς AB, var lect cf 16 εὑρεθῆναι E εὑρεθήσεται H αὐτοῦ: τοῦ θεοῦ E

ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ Gr. 76, 21-77, 3
Μελχισεδὲκ προσήνεγκε καὶ οὕτως τὰς εὐλογίας ἐδέξατο Gr. 77, 1
παρ' αὐτοῦ. τί δὲ διὰ τούτων αἰνίττεται τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑψηλοτέ- Gr. 77, 3
ραν θεωρίαν ἐμφαῖνον, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ τὰ ἄκρα καὶ τὰ στέατα, τὰ
πρῶτα ὅλου τοῦ συγκρίματος τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν, τουτέστιν
αὐτὸν τὸν νοῦν, αὐτὴν τὴν συνείδησιν, αὐτὴν τὴν διάθεσιν, Gr. 77, 4
αὐτὸν τὸν ὀρθὸν ἡμῶν λογισμόν, αὐτὴν τὴν ἀγαπητικὴν ἡμῶν
δύναμιν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ ὅλου ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπου
τῷ θεῷ πρότερον προσκομίζειν δεῖν πάντοτε [πάντως] τὴν
τῆς καρδίας θυσίαν ἱεράν, τὰ ἀκροθίνια καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Gr. 77, 3
ὀρθῶν λογισμῶν, εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ μνήμην καὶ μελέτην καὶ
ἀγάπην διὰ παντὸς ἀπασχολοῦντας. καὶ οὕτω δυνησόμεθα
εἰς ἔρωτα θεῖον ὁσημέραι τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ προκοπὴν λαμ-
βάνειν, βοηθούμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς θείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμως, Gr. 77, 9
καὶ τὸ φορτίον τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐλαφρὸν ἡμῖν Gr. 77, 10-11
καταφανήσεται καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμώμως ταύτας ἐπιτελοῦσι,
συνεργοῦντος ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν Gr. 77, 12
ἡμῶν διὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης ζέουσαν ὁρμὴν καὶ πασῶν
τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὴν ἐπιπόθησιν.

ABEH 4 τὸ om E 4-5 κ. τὰ πρῶτα κ. τὰ στέατα E 5 τῆς φύσεως om E 6 αὐτὴν τὴν συνείδησιν om E 7 ἡμῶν alt om H 9 πρότερον AH: πάντοτε B, om E δέοι EH πάντως om E, delevi, cf. 235, 3, ante πάντως distinxit H 9-10 τὴν τ. κ. θυσίαν intellige 'tamquam sanctum cordis sacrificium' offeramus, eandem constr cf p. 235, 3 10 τά τε ἀκρ. E τὰ alt om E 11 ὀρθῶν om A 12 ἀπασχολοῦντες B οὕτως γὰρ (καὶ om) E δυνάμεθα H 13 τὴν om E καὶ προκοπὴν om E 14 θείας δυν. τοῦ θεοῦ E 15 δὲ post φορτίον add E τῶν om E οὕτω post ἡμῖν add E 16 καὶ ante καθ. add E ἐπιτελοῦντες A ἐπιτελέσωμεν E 19 ἀγαθὴν om E post ἐπιπόθησιν extat in AB lacuna unius folii quam B vel B^2 signo ·:· adposito spatioque relicto indicat. in marg notam quam legere non potui add B^2: quae in AB omissa sunt habent Ephr et cod H quibus inde ab hoc loco usque ad 269, 9 προσκαρτερεῖν ἀναγκάζων textus nititur. correspondet huic parti Greg *De inst Chr* p. 77, 15-78, 21, qui eam ab Ephr et H recte hic collocatam esse confirmat. ex hoc loco excerpta sunt op 'Mac' *De perf* 852 et Mac hom 40, 764 A

Gr. 77, 15 Περὶ δὲ τῆς φαινομένης ἀσκήσεως καὶ ποῖον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτή-
Gr. 77, 18-19 δευμα πρῶτον καὶ μεῖζον τυγχάνει, τοῦτο γινώσκετε, ἀγαπη-
Gr. 77, 20 τοί, ὅτι ἀλλήλων πᾶσαι αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἐκδέδενται καὶ ἀλλήλων
Gr. 78, 5 ἐκκρέμανται· ὥσπερ <γὰρ> ἱερά τις καὶ πνευματικὴ ἅλυσις
μία ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς ἀπήρτηνται· <ἡ εὐχὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης>,
ἡ ἀγάπη ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς, ἡ χαρὰ ἀπὸ τῆς πραότητος, ἡ
πραότης ἀπὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως, ἡ ταπείνωσις ἀπὸ τῆς δια-
κονίας, ἡ διακονία ἀπὸ τῆς <δικαιοσύνης, ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπὸ
τῆς> ἐλπίδος, ἡ ἐλπὶς ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως, ἡ πίστις ἀπὸ τῆς
Gr. 78, 6-7 ὑπακοῆς, ἡ ὑπακοὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος· ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ
ἐναντίον μέρος ἓν ἀφ' ἑνὸς τὰ κακὰ ἐκδέδενται· τὸ μῖσος ἀπὸ
τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὁ θυμὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, ἡ ὑπερηφανία ἀπὸ
τῆς κενοδοξίας, ἡ κενοδοξία ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπιστίας, ἡ ἀπιστία
ἀπὸ τῆς <σκληροκαρδίας, ἡ σκληροκαρδία ἀπὸ τῆς> ἀμελείας,
ἡ ἀμέλεια ἀπὸ τῆς χαυνώσεως, ἡ χαύνωσις ἀπὸ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας,
ἡ ὀλιγωρία ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκηδίας, ἡ ἀκηδία ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνυπομονη-
σίας, ἡ ἀνυπομονησία ἀπὸ τῆς φιληδονίας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς
κακίας μέλη εἰσὶν ἀλλήλων ἐκκρεμάμενα· οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ
Gr. 78, 5 ἀγαθῷ μέρει ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἀπηρτημέναι. κεφά-
Gr. 78, 9 λαιον δὲ πάσης ἀγαθῆς σπουδῆς καὶ κορυφαῖον τῶν κατορθω-

EH 1 καὶ ποῖον H: οἷον E om καὶ 2 μεῖζον καὶ πρῶτον H Mac hom 40, 764A γινώσκετε H: γινώσκεται E 3 ἀλλήλων pr H: ἀλλήλοις E 4 γὰρ post ὥσπερ add hom, quod recepi; quod nisi facis, ἀπηρτημένη scribendum cum op 852B ubi legitur καθάπερ ἱερά τις σειρὰ μία τῆς μιᾶς ἠρτημένη καὶ H om E 5 ante ἡ ἀγάπη add ἡ μὲν εὐχὴ τῆς ἀγάπης op et similiter ἡ εὐχὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης hom, quod inserui; nunc confirmavit H 8 inter διακονίαν et ἐλπίδα excidit δικαιοσύνη, ut ex Greg *De inst Chr* 78, 1-2 apparet, nam ibi ἐλπὶς ducit ad δικαιοσύνην et haec ad διακονίαν, quae ducit ad ταπεινότητα. igitur homoearcto δι- deceptus scriba antiquus a διακονία ad ἐλπίδα transsiluit. omissio δικαιοσύνης iam pridem evenit, cum praeter codices EH etiam Mac hom et op de ea taceant, qui libri ex hoc excerpti sunt; cf sq 10 καὶ om H 13-14 post ἀπιστίας hom 40 add ἀπὸ τῆς σκληροκαρδίας, ἡ δὲ σκληροκαρδία ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμελείας κτλ. idem olim hoc loco legit excerptor op 852C, extat igitur lacuna in Ephr quam explevi quod nunc confirmat H 17-18 μέλη τῆς κ. H 18 ἀλλ. εἰσὶν H καὶ post οὕτως om H 19 ἀγαθῷ H: καλῷ E αἱ ἀρ. εἰσιν H

μάτων ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς προσευχῆς προσκαρτέρησις, δι' ἧς καὶ Gr. 78, 13
τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρετὰς διὰ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ αἰτήσεως ὁσημέραι Gr. 78, 10
προσκτᾶσθαι δυνάμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς μόνον θεὸν ἀγαθότης Gr. 78, 12
καὶ κοινωνία τις μυστικὴ πνευματικῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ συν-
5 άφεια τῆς διαθέσεως καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀρρήτῳ πρὸς
κύριον ἐν εὐχῇ διὰ θείας ἐπισκέψεως τοῖς καταξιουμένοις
γίνεται καὶ εἰς οὐράνιον ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἔκπυρον ὑπὸ τῆς Gr. 78, 16
πνευματικῆς ἀγάπης πρὸς θεὸν ἕλκεται ὁσημέραι ὁ ἑαυτὸν
ταῖς προσευχαῖς προσκαρτερεῖν ἀναγκάζων, καθὼς εἴρηται·
10 Ἔδωκας εὐφροσύνην εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου· καὶ ὁ κύριος· Gr. 78, 19
Ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστι. τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς εἶναι Gr. 78, 20
τὴν βασιλείαν τί ἄλλο σημαίνει ἢ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος οὐράνιον Gr. 79, 1
εὐφροσύνην <τὴν> ταῖς ἀξίαις ψυχαῖς ἐνεργῶς γινομένην,
ἥνπερ ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνην πνευματικὴν ἐν Gr. 79, 3
15 φωτὶ αἰωνίῳ οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μέλλουσιν ἔχειν; ταύτης Gr. 79, 3-4
τὸν ἀρραβῶνα καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη αἱ ἄξιαι καὶ
πισταὶ ψυχαὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργοῦς κοινωνίας
κεκτῆσθαι καταξιοῦνται. Ὁ παρακαλῶν γάρ, φησίν, ἡμᾶς Gr. 79, 8-10
ἐν πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν
20 τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλού-
μεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Ἡ καρδία μου καὶ Gr. 79, 11-12
ἡ σάρξ μου ἠγαλλιάσαντο ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα, καὶ Ὡς ἐκ στέατος
καὶ πιότητος ἐμπλησθείη ἡ ψυχή μου, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, Gr. 79, 12-13
τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργῆ εὐφροσύνην καὶ παράκλησιν διὰ Gr. 79, 13-14
25 τούτων αἰνίττεται· τὰ δὲ ἀκόλουθα πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν

EH 1 προκαρτέρησις E 3 προκτᾶσθαι E ἐπειδὴ... 7 γίνεται καὶ om H εἰς ἔρωτα γὰρ θεῖον καὶ πόνον H 8 πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ H ὁσημέραι om H

ABEH 12 οὐράνιον BE: οὐρανίου et ante πνεύματος coll A 12-13 τὴν... διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγγινομένην ταῖς ψυχαῖς εὐφροσύνην Greg 13 τὴν supplevi τῆς ἀξίας ψυχῆς E an legendum ἐγγινομένην? 14 ἥπερ γὰρ E 15 τῶν οὐρανῶν post βασ. add E ταύτης BH op: τοῦτον E τούτων A 16 ἄξιαι: ἁγίαι E 18 κεκτῆσθαι BH: om A τυχεῖν E 18 ἡμᾶς φησὶν H 19 ἐν: ἐπὶ E πάσῃ om H ἡμᾶς om E 21 ἀπὸ E 22 θεὸν ζῶντα AEH: θεῶ ζῶντι B 23 ἐμπλήσθη (sic) E 24 ἐνεργῆ τοῦ πν. E ἁγιασμοῦ post παρακλ. add E 25 τῶν om A

παραγγέλματα ὥσπερ μέλη τῆς κεφαλῆς τυγχάνει, ἅπερ οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδόντες τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπιτελεῖν ὀφείλουσι.

Gr. 79, 15 Προκειμένου τοίνυν τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοποῦ πᾶσιν ἑνός, ὅνπερ διὰ πλειόνων προείπομεν ἀπὸ γραφικῶν μαρτυριῶν παραστήσαντες, τοῦ καταξιωθῆναι διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ πολλῆς ἐν πάσαις ἀρεταῖς σπουδῆς πληρώσεως ἁγίου πνεύ-
Gr. 79, 17 ματος καὶ παντελῆ τῶν παθῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν κτήσασθαι, ὅ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς καρδίας καθαρισμὸς διὰ τοῦ ἁγιαστικοῦ πνεύματος
Gr. 79, 18 ταῖς πισταῖς καὶ εὐλαβέσι ψυχαῖς ἐγγινόμενος· ἕκαστος οὖν
Gr. 80, 1-2 ἑαυτὸν ἐκδότω εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅσον καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἔρως τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπεκτείνεται· καὶ λοιπὸν εἴ τις βούλεται ἀδιαλείπ-
Gr. 80, 3 τως ταῖς προσευχαῖς προσκαρτερεῖν καὶ ταῖς νηστείαις σχο-
Gr. 80, 4 λάζειν κατὰ τὸ λόγιον Παύλου· Ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε,
Gr. 80, 5 καὶ Τῇ εὐχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου δὲ εἰρη-
Gr. 80, 6 μένον· Πόσῳ μᾶλλον ποιήσει ἐκδίκησιν ὁ θεὸς τῶν βοώντων
Gr. 80, 8 πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. Ἔλεγε δέ φησι καὶ παραβολὴν πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐκκακεῖν. τῶν δὲ ἐπουρανίων ὅπλων τὴν ἔνδυσιν, ὡς προείρηται, δι' ὁποίου τρόπου καταξιωθήσονται οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ πιστεύοντες
Gr. 80, 12 τυχεῖν, ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀκριβῶς ἐσήμανεν εἰπών· Διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει καὶ δεήσει.

Gr. 80, 15 Εἴ τις τοίνυν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν διὰ πίστεως καὶ προσευχῆς

(A)BEH 2 ἀποδιδόντες AH ἑαυτοὺς ὁλοτελῶς ἀποδεδωκότες E 3 τοίνυν: δηλαδὴ E 4 ὅπερ AB προσείπαμεν E ἀπὸ: διὰ τῶν E 5 ἡμᾶς post καταξ. add E 7 ὅ om ABH 10 ἐκδότω ἑαυτὸν H ἐκδιδότω A τὸν om E 11-13 ἀδιαλείπτως . . . Παύλου homoeoteleuto om E 12-13 καὶ ταῖς . . . σχολάζειν om A 14 προσευχῇ E προσκαρτερείτω E προσκαρτερεῖν H δὲ om EH 15 ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἐκδίκησιν E 16 ἔλεγε γάρ φησι E 17 δεῖ E 17-18 καὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δὲ ὅπλων τοῦ πνεύματος E 18 δι' ὁποίου EH: διὰ ποίου AB 19-20 τυχεῖν πιστεύοντες E 20 ἀκριβῶς ἐσήμανεν om E εἶπε E 22 αὐτὸ τοῦτο E ἀγρυπνοῦντες: προσκαρτεροῦντες B 23 post δεήσει deficit A 24 τὸν H: τῶν BE πίστεως καὶ om E διὰ τῆς πίστεως H τῆς προσευχῆς E

καὶ μετανοίας ἀγῶνα ἀναδέξασθαι ἐπιποθεῖ ἐρῶν τῶν ἐπου- Gr. 81, 1
ρανίων ἀγαθῶν, ἀποδεκτέος καὶ πάνυ ἐπαινετὸς οὗτος καὶ
ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεῷ· διὸ ἐάσθω καὶ βοηθείσθω ὑπὸ τῆς Gr. 81, 6-8
ἀδελφότητος τῶν συμμέλων ἀδελφῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος
τῇ εὐχῇ προσκαρτερεῖν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν μισθὸν διὰ τὴν Gr. 81, 8-10
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν σύμπνευσιν καὶ συνεργίαν ἀγαθὴν ἀπὸ θεοῦ
ἔχωσι· μόνον ἵνα μετὰ πάσης νήψεως τὴν κατὰ συνείδησιν ἔρευ-
ναν ποιῇ <ται> καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον μέριμναν καὶ ἄπαυστον ἀγῶνα cf. Gr. 80, 4
ὁ εὐχόμενος ἔχῃ, πάντοτε ἐναντιούμενος πάσῃ τῇ τῆς κακίας
τῶν πολλῶν καὶ περισσῶν λογισμῶν ὕλῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν κύ-
ριον πάντοτε τὸν νοῦν ἐκβιαζόμενος ἐν ἐπιποθήσει καὶ παρ'
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀντίληψιν τῆς χάριτος ἐκδεχόμενος, ἵν' οὕτως οἱ Gr. 81, 5-6
καρποὶ τῆς παραμονῆς καὶ προσκαρτερήσεως εἰς οἰκοδομὴν
ὁσημέραι πᾶσι φανεροὶ γίνωνται. ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπης τρῶσίν
τινα καὶ ἔρωτα θεῖον ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ, ἢ κἂν μηδέπω ἔχῃ,
βιάζηται δὲ καὶ ἀγωνίζηται καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀναγκάζῃ,
εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον κάματον ἔκδοτον διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ
θεοῦ τὸν οὐράνιον ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν
εὐχὴν ἐπιζητῶν κτήσασθαι κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· Ὁ διδοὺς εὐχὴν Gr. 81, 11-12
τῷ εὐχομένῳ· μετὰ χαρᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐάσθω καὶ ὡς Gr. 81, 6-10
βοηθοὶ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον συνεργείτωσαν καὶ προτρεπέσθωσαν,
ἴδιον κέρδος ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ

BEH 1 καὶ μετανοίας om E ἀγωνιζόντων post μεταν. add B ἐπιποθεῖ δέξασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα B ἔρωτι B 2 πάνυ: παντὶ E πάντη H 2-3 οὕτως καὶ παρ' ἀνθ. καὶ παρὰ θ. E 3 ἀφιέσθω E καὶ βοηθείσθω om EH 3-4 τῆς ἀδελφότητος om E 4-5 ὁ τοιοῦτος post προσκαρτερεῖν coll E 5 προσευχῇ E τὸν om E 6 ἐπὶ θεῷ E ἐπὶ θεοῦ H 8 supplevi cf. 273, 12 ποιῇ E om BH μνήμην E τὸν ante ἄπαυστον add H 9 ἔχειν E 10 καὶ alt om EH τὸν om E 11 πάντοτε om E βιαζόμενος E 13 τῆς . . . προσκαρτερήσεως om E 14 ἀγάπην κυρίου E 15 τινα om E ἢ om E ἔχει B 16 βιάζεται et ἀγωνίζεται BE ἀναγκάζει τὴν προαίρεσιν E ἀναγκάζει B 17 τὸν τοιοῦτον: τοῦτον E ἔκδοτον διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν scripsi: ἔκδοτον ἐκδιδοὺς B ἐκδιδοὺς exp et ἑαυτὸν in marg add B^2 ἑαυτὸν (om H) ἔκδοτον διδοὺς EH τοῦ om H 17-18 παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ post 19 εὐχὴν coll E 19 ζητῶν E ὁ om B 20 λοιπῶν ante ἀδελφῶν add EH ἀφιέσθω E 21 αὐτοῦ EH καὶ προτρεπέσθωσαν om E 22 ἡγούμενοι κέρδος EH

προκοπήν, καὶ μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν ἢ ζῆλον ποιείτωσαν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας ὑποφερόμενοι μηδὲ ἐμποδιζέτωσαν καὶ ἐγκοπτέτωσαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς θεὸν ὁρμὴν καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος
Gr. 81, 13-14 τῆς καλῆς σπουδῆς τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ὁρῶν τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῆς ἀγάπης παροξυσμὸν ἀνταποδώσει πᾶσι τὰ αἰτήματα, πληροφορῶν ἕκαστον διὰ τὴν εὐθεῖαν καὶ ἀγαθὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους προαίρεσιν.

Gr. 82, 12 Ταῦτα δὲ σπουδαίως ποιεῖν ἐν πολλῇ διακρίσει μάλιστα οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὀφείλετε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς σὺν ὑμῖν ἀδελφοὺς τοιούτῳ φρονήματι καταρτίζειν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐγκοπὴν λαμβάνῃ εἰς ὃν προαιρεῖται ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀγῶνα.
Gr. 81, 12-14 ὥσπερ οὖν κεφαλαιωδέστερον ὁ τῇ εὐχῇ προσκαρτερῶν ἐπεβάλετο ἔργον, οὕτως καὶ ἀγῶνα περισσὸν καὶ πόνον πολὺν καὶ σπουδὴν ἀδιάλειπτον ἀναλαβεῖν ὀφείλει διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ προσκαρτερήσει τῆς εὐχῆς εἶναι τῆς κακίας
Gr. 81, 17-20 ἐμπόδια· ὕπνον, ἀκηδίαν, βάρησιν σώματος, λογισμῶν ῥεμβασμόν, νοὸς ἀκαταστασίαν, ὀλιγωρίαν, ἀνυπομονησίαν,
cf. Gr. 81, 20 ἔκλυσιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς κακίας ἐνεργήματα· εἶτα θλῖψις καὶ ἐπανάστασις αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων πολεμούντων καὶ ἀνταγωνιζομένων μέχρις αἵματος τῇ κατ' ἀλήθειαν τὸν θεὸν ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπιζητούσῃ ψυχῇ κωλυόντων αὐτὴν

BEH 1 μὴ E 1-2 ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας om E 2 ὑποσυρόμενοι E 2-3 ἐ . . . . . ἑτωσαν B quinque litterae evan: ἐκκοπτέτωσαν E ἐγκοπτέτωσαν 'impedire' correxi quod iam confirmavit H; cf 11 3 αὐτοῦ E sscr B 5 ἀγάπης EH et pr B, deinde exp et ψυχῆς scripsit, sed post παροξυσμὸν add ἤγουν τῆς ἀγάπης B; var lect igitur in suo exemplari legebat post ἀνταποδώσει add ὁσίως πάνυ B om E ὁσίως add H 8 δὲ om BH 10 τῷ τοιούτῳ H σπουδάζετε post καταρτίζειν add EH 11 ἐγκοπὴν EH: ἐκκοπὴν B; cf 2-3 προείρηται EH 12 ὁ ante κεφ. coll E 13 ἐπεβάλετο correxi, cf p. 273, 22, cum ἔργον coniunctum Plat *Soph* 264 B al: ἐπελάβετο BH ἐπέλαβε τὸ E εἵλετο op in paraphrasi huius loci; post ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι genitivum expectares περισσότερον E 16-18 ὕπνος . . . ἔκλυσις (impedimenta omnia casu nominativo) EH 18 λεπτὰ ante ἐνεργήματα add E, fuit var lect pro λοιπὰ vel ex eo corruptum 18-19 θλίψις καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις H θλίψεις καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις op 21 ἀδιαλείπτως om B in marg add B^2 ut vid

προσεγγίζειν θεῷ. πάσῃ οὖν νήψει καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ
παντὶ ἀγῶνι σωματικῷ καὶ ψυχικῷ καὶ πάσῃ ὑπομονῇ ὁ τῇ Gr. 81, 11-12
εὐχῇ προσκαρτερῶν ἀνδρίζεσθαι ὀφείλει· καὶ ὡς τὸν σταυρὸν
ὄντως βαστάζων ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πένθει καὶ
θλίψει διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀδιαλείπτως ἦτω· μὴ κεχαυνωμένος
καὶ συνεπιδιδοὺς ἑαυτὸν τῷ τῆς κακίας τῶν λογισμῶν ῥεμ-
βασμῷ ἢ συγχύσει ὕπνου ἢ ἀκηδίᾳ ἢ ἐκλύσει, ταραχώδεσι καὶ Gr. 81, 18
ἀπρεπέσι φωναῖς χρώμενος ἤ τισι τοιούτοις παραδιδοὺς τὴν
διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιακρισίας αἰτίᾳ ἐμπληροφούμενος τῇ σωματι-
κῇ γονυκλισίᾳ, τοῦ νοὸς ἐν συγχύσει ἢ ῥεμβασμῷ καθεστῶτος. Gr. 82, 6-7
δύναται γάρ τις, ἐὰν μὴ ἄκρως νήφειν παρασκευάζηται
[καὶ] μηδὲ πάντοτε τὴν ἔρευναν καὶ προσοχὴν τοῦ νοῦ
ποιῆται, ἐπιποθῶν ἀεὶ τὸν κύριον, ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας ποικίλως Gr. 81, 15
κατὰ τὸ κρυπτὸν ὑποσκελιζόμενος ἐπαίρεσθαι ἢ τυφοῦσθαι
κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μηδέπω οὕτως δυναμένων τῇ εὐχῇ
προσκαρτερεῖν· καὶ οὕτως διὰ τῶν τοιούτων τῆς κακίας
πανουργημάτων τὴν καλὴν ἀπόλλυσιν ἐργασίαν, καταπροδι- Gr. 81, 20-22
δοὺς ταύτην τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μείζονα τῆς
εὐχῆς ἔργα ἀνεδέξατο, οὕτως καὶ πόνον καὶ μέριμναν καὶ
ἀγῶνα μείζονα τῶν λοιπῶν ὀφείλει κεκτῆσθαι, μή πως
κλοπήν τινα παρὰ τῆς κακίας πάθῃ. τοῖς γὰρ μεῖζόν τι ποιεῖν Gr. 81, 15-16
ἐπιβαλλομένοις ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτήδευμα μειζόνως ὁ πονηρὸς
ἀνταγωνίζεται ὑποσκελίζειν βουλόμενος.

BEH 1 μὴ προσεγγίζειν E πάσῃ om H 2 ἀγῶνι ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος E 2 καὶ alt: ἐν E 5 διὰ τ. β. post ἦτω coll H ἔστω E καὶ post ἦτω add B ἐγχαυνούμενος H 5-6 χαυνούμενος καὶ ἐπιδιδοὺς E 6-7 τοῖς . . . ῥεμβασμοῖς EH τῶν om 7 συγχύσει om et ὕπνῳ scr EH, post ἐκλύσει add ἢ συγχύσει νοὸς ἢ (ν. ἢ om H) EH 9 καὶ om H διακρισίας B 9-10 εἰς τὴν σωματικὴν μόνον γονυκλισίαν EH 11 ἀκριβῶς νήφειν ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζῃ E 12 καὶ BEH, delevi, erat varia lectio μηδὲ om EH 14 ἀποβουκολούμενος EH ἐπαίρεσθαι: ποιμαίνεσθαι H τυφοῦσθαι BH: φυσιοῦσθαι E 15 τῶν alt om EH ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ δυναμένων EH 17 ἀπόλλυσιν om E 18 πονηρῷ δαίμονι: ἀντικειμένῳ E 18-19 μεῖζον ἔργον τῆς εὐχῆς E μεῖζον τ. εὐχ. ἔργον H 19 τὴν μέριμναν E 20 κεκτῆσθαι ὀφείλει E κτῆσθαι B μήπου E 21 πάσχῃ H μειζόνως E τι ποιεῖν om E ποιεῖν om H 22 ἐπιλαβομένοις H ἐπιλαμβομένοις ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος μειζόνος (sic) E ex coniectura; cf ad p. 272, 13 ὁ ἀντικείμενος E 23 ἀνταγωνιζόμενος ὑποσκ. βούλεται BH

Gr. 82, 15-16 Ἀλλ' ἵνα καρπὸν ἀγάπης καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ ἁπλότητος καὶ ἀγαθότητος καὶ διακρίσεως ὁσημέραι διὰ τῆς προσ-
Gr. 82, 16 sq. καρτερήσεως τῆς εὐχῆς ἐκφύσωμεν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ φανεροὶ ὦμεν
Gr. 82, 17 τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω προκοπὴν λαμβάνοντες, ἀγωνισώμεθα ἵνα καὶ τοὺς διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα τῇ εὐχῇ προσκαρτερεῖν μηδέπω δυναμένους, τῶν ἀγαθῶν καρπῶν ἡμῶν φανερῶν αὐτοῖς
Gr. 82, 18-19 ὄντων, ἐρεθίσωμεν καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνέγκωμεν προθύμως καὶ σπουδαίως ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδοῦναι.
Gr. 82, 19-21 ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη καὶ ἡ ἁπλότης καὶ
Gr. 83, 1-2 ἡ ἀγαθότης τὴν εὐχὴν ἡμῶν κατακοσμήσῃ, ἡ εὐχή, μᾶλλον
Gr. 83, 2 sq. δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς εὐχῆς, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσει. οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦτο λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καμάτου καὶ πόνου παρθενίας καὶ εὐχῆς καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ψαλμῳδίας ἢ διακονίας ἢ οἱουδήποτε καμάτου καὶ ἐρ-
Gr. 83, 5 sq. γασίας ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένης· ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ πραότητος καὶ ταπεινώσεως ἁπλότητός τε καὶ ἀφελότητος καὶ πίστεως καὶ μακροθυμίας καὶ ἀφθονίας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εὑρίσκωμεν καὶ
Gr. 83, 5 πᾶσι τοιούτους καρποὺς προσφέρωμεν, εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην οἱ πόνοι καὶ οἱ κάματοι ἡμῶν γεγόνασι. πᾶσα γὰρ ἐκείνη ἡ ἐργασία καὶ οἱ κάματοι διὰ τοὺς καρποὺς τούτους γίνεσθαι ὀφείλουσιν· τῶν δὲ καρπῶν τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης μὴ

BEH 1 καρποὶ H δεῖ οὖν καρποὺς E ταπεινώσεως E 2 καὶ ἀγαθότητος om E 2-3 ὁσημέραι . . . πᾶσι: τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐκφύεσθαι E 3 ἐκφυόμενοι H ἐν om H καὶ: ὅπως E 4 ἀγωνισώμεθα om EH 5 διὰ . . . προσκαρτερεῖν post 6 δυναμένους coll et οὕτω ante δυν. add E 6 τοῖς . . . δυναμένοις B ὑμῶν B 8 τοῦτον om B ἀποδοῦναι EH 9 μὴ γὰρ EH ἡ sec om B καὶ alt om E 10 ὑμῶν B 11 ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν B ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν H 12 τοῦτος (sic) post alt δὲ 11 coll E περὶ alt B: ἐπὶ E et op, om H τοῦ om EH 13 καὶ παρθ. B ἢ E quater pro καὶ, H sexies post εὐχῆς add ἢ ἀναγνώσεως E om B op 14 οὕδηποτε (sic) E 15 ὑμῶν B ἐπιτελουμένης scripsi quod iam confirmavit H: ἐπιτελουμένων B τελουμένης E 16 τῆς εἰρήνης E πραΰτητος B 17 ταπεινότητος H τε om E 18-19 καὶ πᾶσι . . . εἰκῇ καὶ om B sed in marg supra add B^2 19 καρποὺς εἰρήνης EH 20 οἱ om H ἡμῶν om E 21 τούτους om H γενέσθαι BH 22 εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγάπης E καὶ εἰρ. post εὑρίσκ. coll H

εὑρισκομένων ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην ὅλη ἡ ἐργασία γεγένηται.
οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι κατὰ τὰς πέντε μωρὰς παρθένους ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Gr. 83, 6
κρίσεως ἀποδείκνυνται, αἵτινες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπικομί-
σασθαι ἐν τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ἀγγείοις τὸ πνευματικὸν ἔλαιον, Gr. 83, 7
ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν προειρημένων ἀρετῶν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος
ἐνέργεια, μωραὶ ὀνομασθεῖσαι τοῦ πνευματικοῦ τῆς βασιλείας Gr. 83, 9-12
νυμφῶνος ἀπεκλείσθησαν καὶ ὁ τῆς παρθενίας κάματος διὰ
τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔλλειψιν καὶ ὑστέρησιν τῆς ἐνεργοῦς ἐνοική-
σεως τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθη. Gr. 83, 12
Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ τῆς ἀμπέλου πᾶσα ἐπιμέλεια Gr. 83, 14-16
καὶ κάματος διὰ τὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπόλαυσιν γίνεται, καρπῶν
δὲ μὴ εὑρισκομένων ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην πᾶσα ἡ
ἐμπόνησις τῆς ἐργασίας γεγένηται, οὕτως ἐὰν μὴ διὰ τῆς Gr. 83, 16 sq.
ἐνεργείας τοῦ πνεύματος καρποὺς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ
χαρᾶς καὶ ταπεινώσεως μακροθυμίας τε καὶ πίστεως καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν, ὅσα ὁ ἀπόστολος διηγόρευσεν, ἐν πάσῃ πληροφορίᾳ
καὶ αἰσθήσει πνευματικῇ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιγνῶμεν, εἰκῇ ὁ τῆς
παρθενίας κάματος, καὶ εὐχῆς καὶ ψαλμῳδίας νηστείας τε Gr. 83, 16-17
καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ὁ πόνος μάταιος ἀποδείκνυται· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ
κάματοι καὶ πόνοι ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐπ' ἐλπίδι πνευματικῶν
καρπῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ὀφείλουσιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς
ἀρεταῖς καρποφορία ἀπόλαυσίς ἐστι πνευματικὴ ἐν ἡδονῇ Gr. 84, 4, 8
ἀφθάρτῳ ἐν καρδίαις πισταῖς καὶ ταπειναῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος
ἐνεργουμένη. ἐν πολλῇ γὰρ συνέσει διακρίσεως αἱ ἐργασίαι
καὶ οἱ πόνοι καὶ κάματοι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἠγείσθωσαν,

BEH 1 ὑμῖν B 3 ἀπεντεῦθεν B 3-4 ἀποκομίσασθαι H 5 ἡ om B τῶν προειρ. ἀρ. ἡ H προκειμένων E, cf 274, 1 7 ἀνεκλείσθησαν νυμφῶνος E 9 ἁγίου post πν. add E 10 εἰ τύχοι post γεωργίᾳ add E ἡ ἐπιμέλεια E 11 μέλλουσαν post τὴν add E 12-13 πᾶσα ἐπιπόνησις ἐπι in ras H 14-15 καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης H 15-16 τὰ λοιπὰ EH 17 εἰκαίως E εἰκῇ in ras om vel evan H 18 καὶ pr om E καὶ ψαλμῳδίας om E τε om E 19 ὁ et οἱ om E ὁ πόνος evan vel eras sed extabat antea H 20 κάματοί εἰσι E καὶ πόνοι om E τε καὶ σώματος H 21 ὀφείλοντες E 24 διακρίσει συνέσεως EH ἡ ἐργασία τε EH (om τε) 25 οἱ ante πόνοι om H post πόνοι iterat ἐργασία H; fuitne ἐργασία καὶ κάματοι var lect pro αἱ ἐργασίαι καὶ οἱ πόνοι quod antecedit? οἱ κάματοι E post τῆς aliquot verba del B 25-276, 2 φύσεως . . . ὑπὸ om B, in marg inf paginae add B^2 ἀνθρωπίνης om B^2H

καὶ οἱ καρποὶ καρποὶ λογιζέσθωσαν διὰ πίστεως καὶ ἐλπίδος
Gr, 84, 6, 9-10 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ‹ἐν› τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐνεργούμενοι. ἐὰν
Gr. 84, 10-11 γάρ τις διὰ γνώσεως ἔλλειψιν ἰδίαν ἐργασίαν καὶ κάματον τοὺς
καρποὺς τοῦ πνεύματος εἶναι νομίσῃ, πολλὴν οἴησιν ματαιό-
Gr. 84, 12-13 τητος κέκτηται καὶ ἀπὸ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν πνευματικῶν ἐκ-
πίπτει, μὴ διὰ πνεύματος ἐνεργείας ἐν πάσαις ταῖς προειρη-
μέναις ἀρεταῖς κατευθυνθῆναι ἐλπίσας.

Gr. 84, 17 Ὁ γὰρ ὁλοτελῶς ἑαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ ἀφιερῶν πάντοτε κατὰ
Gr. 84, 18 τὴν ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως σπουδὴν καὶ τὸν πόνον ἐν μηδενὶ ἐλ-
λείπων, παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν λύτρωσιν τῶν παθῶν διὰ τῆς
Gr. 84, 18-20 ἀντιλήψεως τῆς χάριτος ἐκδεχόμενος, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρό-
τητα ἀρετῆς καὶ καθαρότητος καταντῆσαι καταξιοῦται.
Gr. 85, 4 sq. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἡδυπαθῶς διαιτώμενος καὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ
ἑαυτὸν ὁλοτελῶς ἐκδεδωκὼς τὰ παρὰ φύσιν πάθη τῆς ἀτιμίας
Gr. 85, 8 [ἐν ἡδονῇ πολλῇ ἐπιτελεῖ], ἀσωτίαν καὶ πορνείαν, μέθην καὶ
πλεονεξίαν, φθόνον καὶ δόλον καὶ ἀσέλγειαν, ἔριν καὶ μῖσος,
Gr. 85, 5-6 φιλαργυρίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς κακίας ἐνεργήματα, ἐν ἀπο-
Gr. 84, 9 sq. λαύσει καὶ ἡδονῇ ὡς φυσικὰ ἐργάζεται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ τέλειος

BEH 2 τοῦ ἁγίου post πνεύματος sscr B^2 ἁγίου om H ἐν addidi; cf 277, 8 al 3 τὴν ἰδίαν E 4 νομίζῃ E 5 post ἀγαθῶν add καρπῶν B var lect καρπῶν op om ἀγαθῶν cf 279, 18 καρπῶν κ. πν. ἁγ. H 5-6 πίπτει B cf Greg p 43, 15 6 πνευματικῆς E 7 ἐλπίζων EH 8 κατὰ : καὶ EH 9 τὸν om E post πόνον add σὺν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀνθρωπίναις καὶ τρεπταῖς ἀρεταῖς E 10 τῶν παθῶν om E 11 τῆς om E post χάριτος add τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως διὰ παντὸς E 11-12 εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκροτάτην τῆς ἀπτώτου ἀρετῆς E εἰς τοσαύτην ἀκροτάτην ἀρετῆς H εἰς τοσαύτην ἀκρότητα ἀρετῆς B quod in εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρότητα ἀρετῆς correxi, omisso τῆς ἀπτώτου quae Ephraemi amplificatio esse vid 12 καὶ om H καθαρότητα BH: ἀγάπης δι' ἀγαθότητος E καθαρότητος correxi 13 ὁ ἐν τ. β. διαιτώμενος BH ἐν τ. β. ὁ ἡδυπαθῶς δ. E ὁ ἐν τ. β. ἡδυπαθῶς δ. correxi; cf 277, 20 14 ὁλοτ. ἑαυτὸν EH ἐκδεδωκὼς H: ἐνδεδωκὼς B ἀποδεδωκὼς E ἔκδοτον παρασχόμενος op, verbum ἐκδιδόναι circumscribens τῆς ἀτιμίας πάθη E 15 ἐπιτελεῖ EH cf 277, 5: ἀποτελεῖ B, sententia construi non potest. verba a me deleta sunt duplex rec ad 17-18 ἐν ἀπολαύσει . . . ἐργάζεται; series vitiorum appositio sunt, cf virtutum seriem 277, 2 sq. καὶ alt om E 16-17 φθόνον . . . φιλαργυρίαν om E 18 ἡδονῇ πολλῇ E post φυσικὰ add διὰ τὴν χρονίαν συνήθειαν E κατεργάζεται E καὶ alt om BH

Χριστιανὸς πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ πάντας τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦ
πνεύματος τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν, τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ εἰρήνην, Gr. 85, 16 sq.
τὴν μακροθυμίαν καὶ ἀγαθότητα, τὴν πραότητα καὶ ὑπομονήν,
τὴν πίστιν καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς
ἔργα, ἐν ἀπολαύσει πολλῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ πνευματικῇ ἐπιτελεῖ Gr. 85, 12
ὡς φυσικὰ ἀκαμάτως λοιπὸν καὶ εὐχερῶς καὶ μηκέτι πρὸς
τὰ πάθη τῆς κακίας πολεμῶν, ἅτε δὴ λελυτρωμένος ὑπὸ Gr. 85, 3
κυρίου τελείως καὶ ἐνεργούμενος ἐν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει
καὶ εὐφροσύνῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ πνεύματος, Gr. 85, 17
τὴν τελείαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρήνην βραβεύουσαν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Gr. 85, 18-19
κεκτημένος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κολληθεὶς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ γενόμενος Gr. 85, 19
εἷς ἓν πνεῦμα. διὰ γὰρ πνεύματος ἐνεργείας καὶ ἁγιότητος Gr. 85, 21
ἀρετῶν πάθη μιαρὰ καὶ ἐνέργεια κακίας κατασβεσθῆναι
δύναται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐργασίαν ἐν Gr. 85, 22
πολλῇ ἀπολαύσει ὁ τοιοῦτος διὰ τὴν ἐνεργῆ ἐνοίκησιν τοῦ
ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀκαμάτως λοιπὸν ἐπιτελεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ δυσχε- Gr. 85, 24
ρέστερον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐχερῶς καὶ Gr. 86, 1
εὐκόλως ἀναλαμβάνει, δυναμούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ
ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὸ συμπαθεῖν τῷ Χριστῷ δεχόμενος·
καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐν βίῳ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ σάρκα ζῶντες τὸ Gr. 86, 2
τιμηθῆναι καὶ δοξασθῆναι, τὸ προσκυνηθῆναι καὶ τὸ πλουτῆ-
σαι καὶ τρυφῆσαι καὶ ἄρξαι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ βίου τούτου

(B)E(H) 1 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν τελείους καρποὺς E et 2 τοὺς . . . φύσιν om 2 τουτέστι τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ ἄτρεπτον ἀγ. E καὶ εἰρήνην om B 3 καὶ μακρ. B 4 καὶ τὴν ταπ. BH τῆς ὄντως ἀρετῆς E 5 πολλῇ om E; cf 277, 15 6 φυσικὰ καὶ οἰκεῖα E καὶ alt om E μὴ B 7 μελετῶν ἢ ante πολεμῶν add BE om H var lect ut vid 8 τοῦ ante κυρίου add H post τελείως add καθαρὸν οἰκητήριον αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι καταξιωθεὶς E amplificatio est post ἐνεργούμενος add δυνάμει θείᾳ E 10 βραβεύσαν B 11 οὗτος EH: αὐτὸς B ἐστιν ἀληθῶς E 11-12 γενόμενος μετ' αὐτοῦ εἷς E 12 γὰρ τῆς τοῦ E 13 τῶν ἀρετῶν E ἐνέργειαι H κατασκευασθῆναι E 14 δύνανται H E verba ab οὐ μόνον usque ad 279, 1 ἐλπίδα ἀθάνατον, quae in BH desunt, ex Ephr restitui, qui falso ea ante 11 οὗτός ἐστιν inseruit; ego Gregorii tractatum eiusque ordinem secutus huc transposui 19 συμπαθεῖν correxi: συμπαθῆναι E δεχόμενος correxi: εὐχόμενος E; cf 278, 10 et 27 22 τρυφῆναι, correxi

ἀπολαύσεις ἐν ἡδονῇ πολλῇ καὶ εὐφροσύνῃ δι' ἐπιθυμίας
Gr. 86, 7-9 ἔχουσιν, οὕτως οἱ εἰς τὰ προειρημένα τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ
<ἐνεργή>ματα φθάσαι καταξιωθέντες τὸ γυμνητεῦσαι καὶ
λιμῶξαι καὶ πᾶσαν κακοπάθειαν ὑπομεῖναι διὰ τοῦ κυρίου,
τὸ μισηθῆναι καὶ ἀτιμασθῆναι καὶ λοιδωρηθῆναι, τὸ μαστι-
χθῆναι καὶ ὥσπερ κάθαρμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου γενέσθαι,
τὸ δὲ ὅλον καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ πάσῃ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβληθῆναι
ἐν ἡδονῇ καὶ ἀπολαύσει πνευματικῇ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύ-
νης διὰ τὴν μακαρίαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίδα ἀκαμάτως
καταδέχονται, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ πολλῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσι.
Gr. 86, 12-13 Χριστιανῶν γὰρ ἡ δόξα καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ τρυφὴ καὶ ὁ
θησαυρὸς καὶ ἡ καύχησις τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τυγχάνει
Gr. 86, 17 κατὰ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν λόγιον· Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώ-
μενοι ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσι, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου εἰρημένον·
Gr. 86, 13 Μακάριοι ἐστὲ ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν ὑμᾶς
οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ εἴπωσι πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδό-
μενοι ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ· χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς
ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. καὶ πάλιν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος
ὅσην ἡδονὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν εἶχεν βοᾷ
Gr. 86, 18-22 λέγων· Ἥδιστα οὖν καυχήσομαι ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις, ἵνα
ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ· διὸ εὐδοκῶ
ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ἐν ὕβρεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν στενοχωρίαις, ἐν
πληγαῖς, ἐν φυλακαῖς· ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι.
Gr. 86, 22 καὶ πάλιν· Ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ
Gr. 86, 23 ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτοὺς πληρεστάτη ἐνοίκησις καὶ ἄφθαρ-
Gr. 86, 25 τος ἐνεργὴς παράκλησις τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν
Gr. 87, 1-2 ἡδυτάτῃ πληροφορίᾳ καὶ ἀπολαύσει πολλῇ καταδέχεσθαι
παρασκευάσει διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίδα

E 3 μεταφθάσαι E sed hoc verbum non extat. excidit subst neutr pl post 2 τὰ προειρημένα τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ et ante φθάσαι, cuius syllabae ultimae -ματα in μετα- latent, et cum τοῖς ἐνεργήμασι τῆς κακίας p. 276, 17 aliquid oppositum esse debeat, <ἐνεργή>ματα φθάσαι restitui 7 τιμωρίᾳ correxi: τῇ μωρίᾳ E 20 μᾶλλον post οὖν add II Cor 12, 9 22 διωγμοῖς καὶ ante στενοχωρίαις add II Cor 12, 10 22-23 ἐν πληγαῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς desunt II Cor 12, 10 27 ἡδυτάτῃ vulgaris sermo non tangendus est

ἀθάνατον· καὶ πάθη Χριστοῦ εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἀναλαβεῖν
ἔστιν. ἅπερ οἱ μηδέπω δι' ἐνεργείας πνεύματος ἀναλαβεῖν Gr. 87, 9-11
καταξιωθέντες διὰ ἰδίας σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἐλπίδι καὶ
πίστει ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς παθήμασι τοῦ κυρίου
ἀδιαλείπτως ἐμμελετάτωσαν καὶ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ, ὡς ἡ δύναμις,
ἑαυτοὺς βιαζόμενοι ἐγγυμναζέσθωσαν, ἐλπίζοντες διὰ τοῦ
πνεύματος τελείως ἐν αὐτοῖς κατευθυνθῆναι, ἵνα κατὰ τὴν
ἐργασίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐπιθυμίαν τε καὶ μελέτην τοῦ νοὸς
ἐνεργῆσαν τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν δυνάμει μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀναλάβωμεν
καὶ τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἐντολῶν ἐργασίαν καὶ τῶν παθημά-
των τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ χαρᾶς ὑπομονήν, καὶ οὕτως τέλειοι
Χριστιανοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργοῦς ἐνοικήσεώς τε καὶ κοινωνίας
τοῦ πνεύματος γενέσθαι καταξιωθέντες τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς Gr. 87, 5-7
κληρονόμοι γενώμεθα.

Οὕτως οὖν ἀγωνίζεσθε καὶ οὕτως ἀνδρίζεσθε καὶ οὕτως
ἑαυτοὺς εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν παρασκευάζετε ὁμοῦ πάντες,
μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ταῖς εὐχαῖς προσκαρτερεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγκά-
ζοντες, ὡς τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν σκοπὸν ἔχοντες, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυ- Gr. 87, 8-9
τῶν καὶ τῶν πλησίον οἰκοδομὴ καὶ ὠφέλεια γένησθε καὶ
μὴ βλάβην ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διὰ τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ
ἀπροσεξίας ἐμποιήσητε. οἱ δὲ μήπω δυνάμενοι ἄκρως ἐπὶ Gr. 87, 9
τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς ἔργον διὰ νηπιότητα ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι τῇ Gr. 87, 12-14
διακονίᾳ ἢ ὑπηρεσίᾳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ τῇ λοιπῇ ἀναπαύσει τῶν
ἀδελφῶν, μετὰ πίστεως καὶ εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου θεοῦ

(B)E(H) 1 verba a καὶ πάθη usque ad 14 γενώμεθα om BH, restitui ex E, qui ea post δύναται (277, 14) collocat, sed initio aliquid deesse vel ἔσται scribendum videtur 2 ab ἅπερ sententiam incohavi οἱ correxi: εἰ E μηδέπω correxi: μηδέπου E; cf 283, 12 al 9 τὸ πνεῦμα accusativus est 15 ab οὕτως οὖν codd BEH textum praebent καὶ οὕτως ἀνδρίζεσθε om E 16 ἔργον om E 16-17 πάντες οἱ τῷ σκοπῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας τρέ-χοντες E 18 σκοπὸν: ἐλπίδας E 19 γένησθε] ν et alt ε evan B 20 καὶ ἑαυτοῖς E τοῖς om EH τῆς om E 21 ἀπροσεχίας ἐμποιήσετε E μήπω BH Greg: μηδέπω E ἄκρω B ϛ evan 22 τῷ . . . ἔργῳ E διὰ νηπιότητα om E 23 ἢ pr: καὶ E ἔργῳ τινὶ E 25 verba a μετὰ πίστεως usque ad p. 282, 22 ἀγωνιζέσθω in cod B folio 6 leguntur, quo non pertinent. hoc folium re vera post folium 12 collocandum esse in-

ἑαυτοὺς εὐτρεπίζετε, ὡς θεοῦ ἐντολὴν ἐπιτελοῦντες καὶ ὡς
Gr. 87, 14-15 πνευματικὸν ἔργον κατεργαζόμενοι· καὶ οὐχ ὡς παρὰ
ἀνθρώπων τὸν μισθὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι οὐδὲ τιμὴν ἢ εὐχαριστίαν
Gr. 87, 17-18 παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔργῳ θεοῦ νηφόντως προσέ-
χετε καὶ ὡς δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ μετὰ χαρᾶς διακονεῖτε,μὴ διδόν-
τες χώραν ὅλως τῇ κακίᾳ δι' ἀνθρωπαρεσκείας ἢ γογγυσμοῦ
ἢ ὑψηλοφροσύνης ἢ χαυνότητος ἢ ἀμελείας ἢ καταφρονήσεως
τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ὑμῶν σπιλοῦν καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ τῆς δολιότητος ἰῷ
καταρρυποῦν καὶ μολύνειν, ἀλλ' ἵνα διὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ
φόβου καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸ καλὸν ἐπιτήδευμα
ὑμῶν ἁγιάζηται καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον ἐπὶ θεῷ γένηται. τοσαύτῃ
γὰρ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ ἀπείρῳ ἀγαθότητι ὁ κύριος συγκατέβη
τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει, ὥστε μηδένα ἐᾶσαι ἀργὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀρετῆς ἢ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου ἀπομεῖναι, ἀλλὰ ἑκάστῳ ἔδωκεν
ἐργασίαν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ, ἔλκων
ἅπαντας μακροθύμως ὁσημέραι ἐπὶ τὰς μείζονας τῶν ἐντολῶν
Gr. 88, 5-7 ἀρετάς. "Ος ἐὰν ποτίσῃ, φησί, ποτήριον ψυχροῦ ὕδατος
μόνον εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν
μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. ἴδε ἕως πόσου εὐκολότητα ἐντολῆς ὁ κύριος
ἔδωκεν, ἵνα μή τις ἄμοιρος ὡσὰν ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἄτονος τὴν
Gr. 88, 10 προαίρεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ γένηται. καὶ πάλιν· <'Εφ' ὅσον>
ἐνὶ τούτων ἐποιήσατε, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε. μόνον ἵνα ᾖ τὸ γινό-
μενον κατὰ θεόν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ δόξαν ἀνθρώπων γίνηται·

tellexit Dörries, quare hoc loco inserui, ubi H, Ephr, Arab et op quoque haec verba exhibent 279, 24 καὶ φόβου om H **(B)E(H)** 1 ὡς ἐντολὴν κυρίου E 3 οὐδὲ om H 4 ἀναμένετε E ἔργοις B πιστῶς καὶ νηφόντως E 5 Χριστοῦ: κυρίου E 6 ὅλως χώραν E ἀνθρωπαρέσκειαν E 7 ἢ quart: καὶ EH 8 ὑμῶν ἔργον EH (ἡμῶν) 9 καταρρυπεῖν E 9-10 καὶ φόβου om E 10-11 ὑμῶν ἐπιτ. EH 11 ἁγιάζετε E ἁγιάζηται H θεὸν γίνεται E 12 γὰρ om H 13 ὡς E τῆς om E **BEH** 14 ἀπομένοντα BE 15 τὴν om B 16 πάντας E μακροθύμως om E 16-17 ἀρετῶν ἐντολάς B 17 ὃς ἂν φησι ποτήσῃ EH(-ίσῃ) ψυχροῦν H om ὕδατος 18 τὸν om E 19 ὡς ποῦ BE εὐκολίαν ἐντολῶν E 19-20 ἔδωκεν ὁ κ. E 20 οἷος ἂν EH ἀσθ. ὑπάρχῃ καὶ E 21 ἀπὸ cum ἄμοιρος construe γένηται: ᾖ E 'Εφ' ὅσον supplevi ex Matth 25, 40; cf Greg p. 88, 10 22 ᾖ om H an recte? 23 γίνεται E

προσέθηκε γάρ· Μόνον εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ, τουτέστι φόβῳ
καὶ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ἵνα γένηται.
τοῖς γὰρ κατὰ δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεικτικῶς Gr. 88, 16
ἀγαθόν τι πράττουσι μεμφόμενος ὁ κύριος ἀπόφασιν ἔδωκε·
Πάντα, φησί, ποιοῦσι πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ
διεξελθὼν ἐπάγει μεθ' ὅρκου λέγων· Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· Gr. 88, 17-89, 1
ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. διὸ παραγγέλλει τοῖς μαθηταῖς·
Βλέπετε μὴ ποιήσητε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν ἢ τὴν νηστείαν Gr. 89, 3-5
ἢ τὴν εὐχὴν ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ μή γε,
μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων δόξαν ἢ τιμὴν ἢ ἐπαίνους προσερχο- Gr. 89, 6-8
μένους ἀπωθεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ προσίεσθαι τῷ νῷ καθόλου παρῆ-
νεσεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ θεοῦ μόνου τὴν ἀληθινὴν δόξαν καὶ τὸν
ἔπαινον ἐκδέχεσθαι, ὡς προείρηται· οὐχ οἷόν <τε> γὰρ μὴ Gr. 89, 8
γνωσθῆναι ἀγαθόν τι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅλως παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ
κύριος ἐδίδαξε. πῶς γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο δυνατόν, ὁπότε αὐτὸς ὡς
φῶς λάμψαι ἡμῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων Gr. 51, 22 sq.
παρήνεσεν εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ γινόμενα· Ὅπως, φησίν, ἴδωσιν
ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν
τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος νομο-
θετήσαντες μηδὲν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν παρενοχλεῖν, εἰ μὴ
ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐπάναγκες, πορνείας καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ
πνικτοῦ καὶ αἵματος, τὴν πολλὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν ὕλην παρεσιώ-

BEH 1 γάρ φησι H 2 τοῦ om EH ἔργον ἵνα ex E restitui, om B ἔργον om H γίνηται B 3 τοὺς E ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔπαινον H 4 πράττουσι: ἐργαζομένους E δέδωκε B ἔδ. an in ras H? εἰπῶν (sic) post ἔδωκε add E, om φησί 6 μεθ' ὅρκου om B ἀμὴν alt om EH 7 διὸ καὶ E τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ E 8 ποιήσατε E ἢ om H 8-9 ἢ . . . εὐχὴν ὑμῶν om E 11 ἢ . . . ἢ: καὶ . . . καὶ E 11-12 προσεχομένους E 12 ἐν νῷ E 13 τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ E ἀληθῆ E τὸν om EH 14 τε supplevi 15 post παρ' ἡμῶν add ἐπιτελούμενον et post τι coll E ὅλως om E, post γνωσθῆναι coll H 16 τοῦτο om E αὐτὸς: ἐν ἄλλοις E 18 ὅπως γὰρ EH 19 τὰ καλὰ ὑμῶν B; cf Matth 5, 26 20 τοῦ om E 21 νομοθετεῖν ἢ ὅλως ante παρ. add B om EH; cf Act 15, 19 22 ἀπέχεσθαι: ἅπτεσθαι E 23 πολλῶν H 23-282, 1 παρασιωπήσαντες EH om τέως κατὰ EH

πησαν τέως διὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄμετρον ἀγαθότητα καὶ συμπάθειαν ἐλαφρύναντες τῆς νοητῆς αὐτῶν ἡλικίας τὴν νηπιότητα, μόνον εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας βουλόμενοι, ἵν' οὕτως κατὰ μέρος ὑπακούοντες τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα τῶν ἐντολῶν παραγγέλματα καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν αὔξησιν φθάσαι καταξιωθῶσιν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὀκνηρότερος τυγχάνει καὶ ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ οἱουδήποτε ἔργου ὑπηρεσίᾳ εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἀδελφῶν γινομένῃ χαύνως καὶ ἀμελῶς καὶ καταφρονητικῶς διάκειται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνδρίζεται σπουδαίως καὶ πιστῶς ποιεῖν ὃ ἐπιτάσσεται, οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἀργὸς ὀνομαζόμενος ὡς μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενος ἀλλὰ περιεργαζόμενος οὐδὲ ἄρτου ἄξιος εἶναι ἀποφαίνεται εἰπόντος· Ὁ ἀργὸς μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· Τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς καὶ ὁ θεὸς μισεῖ· καὶ ὁ ἀργὸς οὐδὲ πιστὸς εἶναι δύναται· καὶ ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ λέγει· Πολλὴν κακίαν ἐδίδαξεν ἡ ἀργία. ὀφείλει γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐν ὁποιῳδήποτε ἔργῳ διὰ τὸν κύριον γινομένῳ καρποφορεῖν καὶ σπουδαῖος εἶναι κἂν ἐν ἑνὶ καλῷ, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς ἄκαρπος εὑρισκόμενος ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς γένηται.

Ἑνὸς οὖν προκειμένου τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοτρόπως ἀδελφοῖς τοῦ προειρημένου σκοποῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγωνιζέσθω κατὰ δύ-

BEH 1 ἀμέτρητον E 2 ὅπως ante ἐλαφρ. add E 2-3 αὐτῶν καὶ νηπιαζούσης ἡλ. τὸν ζυγὸν εἰς E 3 εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς EH 4 βουλόμενοι: προτρέψωνται E ἵν': καὶ H οὕτως om E 5 καὶ: οἱ πιστεύοντες E om H 6 τῶν πνευματικῶν H 7 ὀκνηρὸς E 8 τῇ addidi, confirmat H om B: ἐν τῇ om E λοιποῦ E 11 πᾶν ὃ E ὃ ἐὰν H 12 ὡς ... περιεργαζόμενος om E ἀλλὰ περιεργαζόμενος om H 13 τοῦ ἄρτου EH εἶναι om E ἀποπέφανται EH 13-14 εἰπόντος τοῦ ἀποστόλου B 14 ὁ δὲ EH; cf II Thess 3, 10 εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω 14 ἀλλαχοῦ ποῦ E δὲ om E καὶ alt om H 14-15 μισεῖ ὁ θ. H 15 θεὸς: κύριος E ἀργὸς πιστ. οὐ δύναται εἶναι E 15-16 καὶ ἡ σοφία E 17 ἕκαστος: ἄνθρωπος E ἐν om H ὁποιῳδήποτε correxi: οἱωδήποτε E ὁποιοδήποτε H ὁμοιωδήποτε B 17 κύριον: θεὸν E 18 σπουδαίως EH εἶναι post καλῷ coll EH κἂν: καὶ E 19 ὁλοτελῶς E 21 ὁμοτρόποις EH 22 post ἀγωνιζέσθω expl fol 6v cod B, quod post fol 12 transposui (cf ad p. 279, 25), sententia continuatur fol 13r κατὰ δύναμιν κτλ., sic et EH, Arab, op et Greg

ναμιν ἕκαστος καὶ πιστευέτω τῷ ἀψευδεῖ θεῷ φθάσαι εἰς τὸ τέλειον τῆς υἱοθεσίας τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μέτρον ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαθῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύσει. ἡ ἁπλότης δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀφελότης καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπη καὶ χαρὰ καὶ ταπεί-
5 νωσις ἐξ ἅπαντος ὥσπερ θεμέλιος ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι ἑδρασθήτωσαν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ διὰ παντὸς ἤτωσαν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπαιρόμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλων ἢ φυσιούμενοι καὶ γογγύζοντες εἰκαῖον ὑμῶν τὸν κάματον ἀποδείξητε, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἑαυτῶν ὑπερέχοντες καὶ κυρίους τοὺς πλησίον ἡγούμενοι
10 Χριστοῦ τοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς πτωχεύσαντος μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα. καὶ μήτε ὁ ἀδιαλείπτως ταῖς εὐχαῖς προσκαρτερῶν κατὰ τοῦ μηδέπω οὕτω δυναμένου προσκαρτερῆσαι κατεπαιρέσθω καὶ φυσιούσθω, ἵνα δυνηθῇ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων προκοπὴν λαμβάνειν, μήτε ὁ ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ
15 ὑπηρεσίᾳ ἑαυτὸν δοὺς ὑποβολῇ κακίας γογγυζέτω ἢ καταλαλείτω τοῦ σχολάζοντος ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ νηστείαις, ἵνα χάριν ἐπὶ θεοῦ κτήσηται καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ εὐπρόσδεκτον γένηται, ἀλλ' ὡς μέλη ἀλλήλων ὄντες καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀναπαύειν ὀφείλοντες μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν ἢ κενοδοξίαν ποιῶμεν κατὰ
20 τὸ ἀποστολικὸν παράγγελμα· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τῆς μιᾶς ψυχῆς διοικούμενα τὴν διακονίαν ἄφθονως παρέχει ἀλλήλοις καὶ Οὐ δύναται, φησίν, ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρὶ χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω ἢ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσὶ χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ
25 σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν, ταῦτα περιέπομεν καὶ τού-

BEH 1 φθάσαι E, σαι evan B 4-5 ἡ ante ταπ. add BH ταπεινοφροσύνη E 5-6 ἑδραίως E 6 καὶ ἐν μέσῳ om E ἔστωσαν E 7 καὶ: ἢ H 9 ὑπερέχοντας EH καὶ (om H) τοὺς πλησίον καὶ κυρίους BH 10 Χριστοῦ om E γινώμεθα B 11 προσευχαῖς E 12 οὔπω μηδέπω B (sic) οὕτως μὴ δ. H προσκαρτερεῖν EH 12-13 καὶ φυσιούσθω om E καταφυσιούσθω H 13 θεῷ E 14 ἐν alt om EH · ἐν utrumque om op, ut orationem poliret; εἰς τὴν διακονίαν κτλ. expectes sed ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ ἑαυτὸν δοὺς non mutandum in auctore vulgarizante διδοὺς EH 16 κατὰ τοῦ EH 17 θεῷ E 19 ποιούμενοι E post quod ἀλλὰ add B 21 ἄφθονον B 22 παρέχουσιν ἀλλήλοις BH οὐ om E εἰπεῖν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς E 25 ταῦτα . . . καὶ om EH

τοις τιμὴν περισσοτέραν περιτίθεμεν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς μέλη ἀλλήλων ὄντες, καθὼς εἴρηται, ποιῶμεν, ὁ δὲ καθεῖς ὡς ἀλλήλων μέλη ὑπὸ ἑνὸς πνεύματος κυβερνώμενοι καὶ ὑφ' ἑνὸς τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου ζῶντος τρεφόμενοι διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ ἁπλότητος καὶ ἀγαθότητος καὶ χαρᾶς εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἀλλήλων συναρμοσθῆναι ὀφείλομεν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐκτίσθημεν, καθὼς εἴρηται· Αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, ἵνα ἐν αὐτοῖς περιπατήσωμεν· καὶ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις προαιρέσεσι χαίρει ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον τὸ δι' αὐτὸν γινόμενον ἀποδεχόμενος. τοιαύτην γὰρ διάθεσιν ἁπλότητος εἰς ἀλλήλους ὑμῶν ἀποσῳζόντων γίνεται τὸ περίσσευμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς προσκαρτερούντων ἐπὶ τὸ ὑστέρημα τῶν διακονούντων καὶ ἀναπαυόντων, καὶ πάλιν τὸ περίσσευμα τῶν διακονούντων καὶ ἐργαζομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ὑστέρημα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς σχολαζόντων. οὕτως γάρ φησι γίνεται ἰσότης κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασε, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἠλαττόνησε· μόνον, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἁπλότης καὶ ἀγάπη καὶ ταπείνωσις καὶ ἀζηλία ἦτωσαν καὶ λοιπὸν ἕκαστος κατὰ δύναμιν μετὰ χαρᾶς τὸν καλὸν δρόμον τρεχέτω καὶ τὸν καλὸν ἀγωνιζέσθω ἀγῶνα, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἁπλανῆ τῆς θεοσεβείας ὁδόν, καθόσον πιστεύει καὶ καθόσον ἀγαπᾷ καὶ καθόσον

BEH 2 εἴρεικεν E ποιῶμεν om EH ὡς om EH 3 ὑπὸ τοῦ EH utrobique 4 τρυφώμενοι E 5 καὶ sec om E τε καὶ χ. E 8 κῷ H 10 τὸ ἔργον om E τὸ alt om H αὐτὸν μόνον EH 11 ὑμῶν om BH σωζόντων E 12 προσευχαῖς B 12-13 προσκαρτερούντων: σχολαζόντων E cf 15 13-14 καὶ ἀναπαυόντων non interpretatur op sed cf 286, 12 14-15 καὶ ἐργαζομένων om E καὶ ἀναπαυόντων H 16 οὕτως: ὅπως EH γάρ om H γάρ φησι om E sed apostolum dicit; cf II Cor 8, 13-15 cuius verba interpretatur auctor γένηται EH εἰρημένον H καθὼς γέγραπται E ex Script correxit sed Paulum non ad litteram citat Mac 17 ἐπλεόναζε E 19 ταπεινοφροσύνη E ἀζηλία: ἀφθονία E post quod 18 ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν coll ante ἦτωσαν (ἔστωσαν E) add ἑδρεωμένως E ἡδραιωμένως H 20 κατὰ δύναμιν om E 21 ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζέσθω E ἵνα om EH 22 post ὁδὸν add οὕτως γὰρ E

κάμνει, ὁσημέραι τὴν προκοπὴν λαμβάνων τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιωθήσεται.

Οὗτος ἀληθῶς ἀγγελικὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐστι βίος· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὅταν μὴ κατεπαιρώμεθα ἀλλήλων· ὅταν μετὰ ἀζηλίας καὶ ἀφθονίας καὶ ἁπλότητος καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ χαρᾶς συνηρμόσμεθα ἀλλήλοις, τὴν τοῦ πλησίον προκοπὴν ἴδιον ἡγούμενοι κέρδος, τὴν <δ'> ἀτονίαν ἢ ἐλάττωσιν ἢ θλῖψιν τοῦ πλησίον ἰδίαν εἶναι νομίζοντες ζημίαν. Μὴ γάρ φησι μόνον τὰ ἑαυτῶν σκοποῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησίον ἕκαστος· οὕτω γὰρ ἀλλήλοις συμπάσχοντες καὶ ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζοντες, μάλιστα οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ἀναπληρῶσαι δυνάμεθα τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν Παύλου. τοιούτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τυγχάνοντες ἀληθῶς δυνησόμεθα πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ κεφαλὰς δρακόντων [πνευμάτων πονηρίας] συνθλᾶν, ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβαίνοντες καὶ καταπατοῦντες λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα. ἐὰν γάρ, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἁπλότητι καὶ ἀκεραιότητι σύνεισιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλήλοις, τότε καὶ ὁ ἐν μέτροις μεγάλοις ὢν πνευματικῆς προκοπῆς καὶ τῇ εὐχῇ προσκαρ-

BEH 3 ἐπὶ γῆς om E, habet Greg τουτέστι E 4 τὸ pr om H ὡς ἐν E 5 μετὰ ἀζηλίας καὶ om E ἀζηλίας καὶ ἀφθονίας nonne var lect sunt? cf 284, 19, ante ὅταν deesse vid ἀλλὰ 6-7 συνειρμοσμένοι ὦμεν E 7 τοῦ: τῶν E 7-8 κέρδος ἡγούμενοι E 8 δ' supplevi καὶ ante τὴν add EH ex suo ingenio ut vid cf. ad 17, Δ ante A facile excidere poterat ἐλαττόνησιν B τοῦ πλησίον om E 9 εἶναι om EH ζημίαν νομίζοντες E μόνον om E, post τὰ ἑαυτῶν add H 11 καὶ ἀλλήλων . . . βαστάζοντες om E 13 κῦ H τὸν τοῦ Χρ. νόμον δυνάμεθα E 14-15 τῷ αὐτῷ E 18 πνευμάτων BH: πνευματικῶν E καὶ ante πν. add H ex coniectura ut vid verba πνευμάτων πονηρίας delevi, glossema sunt ad δρακόντων, quod in textum irrepsit συνθλάττειν H 19 ἐπὰν EH 20 ἐν om EH 20-21 καὶ ἀκεραιότητι om E 21 συνῶσιν E ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἀδ. E utrumque ex coniectura, ut vulgarem sermonem poliret 22 μεγάλης E ὢν om E τυγχάνων post προκοπῆς add E

τερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα διὰ τῆς συνεργίας καὶ συμπνοίας τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ προκοπὴν λαμβάνει. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ μικρότερος διὰ τῆς τῶν μειζόνων ἐν ἀγάπῃ προτροπῆς καθ' ἡμέραν βελτιοῦται τῇ προκοπῇ καὶ εὐθύμως ἐργαζόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα ἐπειγόμενος. εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτω διάκεισθε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ γογγυσμοὶ καὶ μέμψεις καὶ καταλαλιαὶ καὶ φυσιώσεις κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπεγείρονται, οὔτε οἱ δοκοῦντες σχολάζειν εὐχαῖς καὶ νηστείαις διὰ τὴν τῶν ἑτέρων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀσυμφωνίαν καὶ βλάβην καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔπαρσιν κρείττους ἑαυτῶν γενέσθαι δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ διακονοῦντες καὶ ἀναπαύοντες σωματικῶς δυνήσονται χάριν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ αὐτῶν ἔχειν διὰ τὸν κατὰ τῶν σχολαζόντων γογγυσμὸν καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ μῖσος· καὶ οὕτω σχίσματος ὄντος ἐν τῷ σώματι ἀδύνατον οἰκοδομὴν πνευματικὴν λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν γίνεσθαι.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν χαρισμάτων διανομὴν εἰς μίαν ἕνωσιν καὶ συμφωνίαν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἄγων ὡς ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντα μέλη, φησίν, ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα, εἴτε προφητείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, εἴτε ὁ διακονῶν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ, εἴτε ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει, ὁ μεταδιδοὺς ἐν ἁπλότητι, ὁ προϊστάμενος ἐν σπουδῇ, ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐν ἱλαρότητι, ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καὶ πάλιν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει,

BEH 1 τῆς om B 2 συναύξησιν B δὲ om B δὲ καὶ om H 3-4 ὁσημέραι EH προκοπῇ: προθυμίᾳ EH 4-5 καὶ εὐθ... ἐπειγόμενος: ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος E 4 verba καὶ εὐθύμως ἐργαζόμενος om BH in fine lineae add B^2 sed ea hic minime deesse debent et certe genuina sunt καὶ alt om H 5 εἰ: ἐὰν E 5-6 οὕτως πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦτε διακείμενοι E 8 ἑταίρων H αὐτῶν post ἑτ. add EH om B 10 γίνεσθαι H 11 καὶ ἀναπαύοντες cf. 284, 13: ἀνάπαυσίν τε E καὶ χάριν E loco male intellecto ut vid 13 καὶ ... μῖσος om E 15 ὑμῖν B sed cf 285, 13 sq. δυνησόμεθα γίνεσθαι ante ἐν ἡμ. coll E 16 ἀλλὰ (om H) μᾶλλον καθὼς ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος (ἀπόστολος H) τὴν κτλ. EH τοῦ πνεύματος post χαρ. add EH 17 ὁ ἀπόστολος om EH ἄγων ὡς BE: ἀγῶνος H σώματος om BH 18 φησὶ γὰρ E τοῦ θεοῦ post χάριν add E 20 εἴτε διακονίαν ἐν E 23 καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς om H τί οὖν ἐστιν ὅταν συνέρχησθε post πάλιν add E

ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, γνῶσιν ἔχει, προφητείαν ἔχει· πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω· τουτέστιν ἀπολάβετε ἕκαστος τῶν χαρισμάτων ἀλλήλων διὰ τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγάπῃ συμφωνίας. οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις ἀδελφοὶ ἐκδεδωκότες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἰσχυροὶ εἴτε τῷ σώματι εἴτε τῇ φρονήσει τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε διὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα· καὶ ἕκαστος ὅπερ ἔχει ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν, ἢ ἰσχὺν ἢ σύνεσιν ἢ ἀνδρείαν ἢ ἐπίνοιάν τινα ἢ σπουδήν, ἀλλήλοις ὁλοκλήρως ἐκδῶμεν. εἴτε πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀξιούμεθα, ἀλλήλοις κοινωνήσωμεν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πλησίον καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληροῦντες τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἄξιοι γενησόμεθα.

Ὅτι δὲ τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ τοῦ λόγου ἁρμοζόντως τελούμενον ἔργον πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐντολῆς προτέτακται, αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος μαρτυρεῖ. ὅτε γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Μάρθας καὶ Μαρίας, καὶ Μάρθας μὲν περὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἀσχολουμένης, Μαρίας δὲ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου καθεζομένης καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σωτηριώδους διδασκαλίας τὴν ψυχὴν τρεφομένης, μεμφομένης δὲ τῆς Μάρθας ὅτι οὐ συμβοηθεῖ αὐτῇ καὶ εἰρηκυίας πρὸς τὸν κύριον· Κύριε εἰπὲ ἵνα ἡ ἀδελφή μου ἐλθοῦσα

BEH 1 προφητείαν: ἑρμηνείαν E 2 γενέσθω E 3 τῆς alt om E 5 τῷ: ἐν E καὶ om E 6 ἰσχυρότεροι E ἤτοι EH τῷ om EH ἤτοι EH φρονήματι E τῇ om EH 7 Χριστοῦ: κῦ H 8 ἤτοι post ἔχει add E αὐτοῦ om E appositionem indicavi 9-10 ἢ σπουδὴν ἢ ἐπίνοιάν τινα ἑαυτοὺς ὁλοτελῶς ἐκδῶμεν E ἀλλήλους ὁλοκλήρους BH, correxi; cf 290, 18 et 295, 24 10 ἤτοι EH 11 τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος E 13 οὕτως γὰρ, om καὶ E 15 γινόμεθα EH 16 τὸ om E τ. λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ E 16-17 ἐπιτελοῦμεν τῷ ἔργῳ E 17 ἐντολῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς E καὶ αὐτὸς E αὐτὸς γὰρ H 18 ὅταν H 19 τῆς διακονίας σχολουμένης E genitivus -ας iterato initio verbi ἀσχολ. ortus est 21 ὑπὸ om EH 22 δὲ om B post Μάρθας add τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς EH συμβοηθεῖ scripsi: συνεβοήθει BH συμβοηθῇ E cum itacismo 22-23 εἴρηκε, om καὶ E

συναντιλάβηταί μοι, ὅτι μόνην με κατέλιπεν· ὁ κύριος τὸ πρῶτον καὶ κεφαλαιωδέστερον τοῦ δευτέρου προέκρινεν εἰρηκὼς αὐτῇ· Μάρθα Μάρθα, μεριμνᾷς καὶ τυρβάζῃ περὶ πολλά· ἑνὸς δέ ἐστι χρεία· Μαρία δὲ τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο. τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μεῖζον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπέδειξεν ὁ κύριος οὕτως εἰπών. οὐχὶ γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἔργον ἡγήσατο. εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦν, πῶς αὐτὸς τῆς διακονίας Μάρθας μετελάμβανε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἔργον δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπετέλεσε, νίψας τῶν μαθητῶν τοὺς πόδας; καὶ παρῄνεσεν εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς· Εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἔνιψα ὑμῶν τῶν μαθητῶν τοὺς πόδας, ὀφείλετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀλλήλων νίπτειν τοὺς πόδας· ὑπόδειγμα γὰρ ἔδωκα ὑμῖν, ἵνα καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐποίησα καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιῆτε· καὶ πάλιν· Ὁ θέλων ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, ἔστω πάντων διάκονος καὶ πάντων δοῦλος· καθὼς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν· καὶ Ὅσα ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἑνὶ τούτων, ἐμοὶ ἐποίησε· καὶ Ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου, μισθὸν δικαίου λήψεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι περὶ τὴν σωματικὴν διακονίαν τῶν τραπεζῶν ἀσχολούμενοι τὸ μεῖζον προέκριναν, τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ τοῦ λόγου μεταδιώκειν ἔργον. Οὐ δίκαιον γάρ, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς καταλιπόντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διακονεῖν

BEH 1 συναντιλάβοι τό μου EH κατέλειπεν διακονεῖν E δὲ post ὁ add E 2 καὶ om H 3 αὐτῇ om E Μάρθα alt om B τί μεριμνᾷς H θορυβάζῃ Luc 10, 41 5 τὸ om E ex coniectura E μεῖζον καὶ πρῶτον E τοῦ λόγου καὶ post μεῖζον add EH, var lect? ἀρετῆς BH: εὐχῆς E cf 20 et 289, 3 τὸ ἔργον E ex coniectura 6 εἰπὼν οὕτως E οὐδὲ γάρ E οὐχ οἷον γὰρ H 6-7 ἔργον . . . διακονίας om E 8 αὐτὸς: οὕτως E 8 καὶ αὐτῶ τῶ ἔργω H ἐτέλεσε B 9 διδασκαλία ante παρῄνεσεν in marg add H αὐτοῖς om H verba καὶ παρῄνεσεν . . . 11 τοὺς πόδας om B homoeoteleuto aberrans 12 ἐν ὑμῖν B 12-13 verba ἵνα . . . ποιῆτε om B 13 πρῶτος εἶναι E 14 ἔστω: ἢ τῶν H ὁ om E 16 ὅσα ἐὰν scripsi: ὃς ἐὰν BH ὃς ἂν E 17 καὶ om E 20 διακονίαν ante τὸ μεῖζον coll B 21 τὸ ante ἔργον coll E 22 ἐστὶν om E καταλιπόντας . . . θεοῦ om B sed in marg inferiore add B^2; cf Act 6, 2 καταλείποντας E

τραπέζαις· ἀλλ' ἐκλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας πλήρεις ἁγίου πνεύματος καταστήσωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερήσωμεν.

Ὁρᾷς πῶς τὰ πρῶτα ἀπὸ τῶν δευτέρων προέκριναν, καίπερ ἀμφότερα μιᾶς ὄντα ἀγαθῆς ῥίζης ἀποβλαστήματα. ὥστε ἡ εὐχὴ προτιμάσθω καὶ σπουδαζέσθω καὶ προκρινέσθω ὑμῖν τῶν λοιπῶν ἐντολῶν. μόνον ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ ἵνα πάντα γίνηται καὶ σκοπῷ τοῦ φθάσαι διὰ τῆς χάριτος εἰς τὴν ἀπαθῆ καθαρότητα. μὴ σωματικοῖς οὖν ἔθεσιν ἁπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ ἀδιακρίτως μηδὲ τοῖς ἔξωθεν σχηματισμοῖς (ἤτοι εὐχῆς ἢ ψαλμῳδίας, νηστείας ἢ διακονίας) μὴ διὰ θεὸν μόνον γινομένοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐξωτέροις κατορθώμασιν ἐμφιλοχωρούμενοι αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπη ἐν τῷ ἔσω ἀνθρώπῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιζητουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργουμένη, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀποκρύψωμεν δι' ἄγνοιαν, ἐν σωματικοῖς μόνον δικαιώμασι τὴν πεποίθησιν ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἐν συνειδήσει γνησίᾳ καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ διαθέσει πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν κυριευέτω· ἧς καὶ καθόλου προηγουμένης καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖσθαι ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιποθήσει ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σπουδαζομένης, ἀκολούθως καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς γονυκλισίας καταρτίζεται καὶ ἡ διακονία εὐπροσδέκτως πληροῦται, καὶ ἡ πασῶν τῶν

BEH 1-2 πνεύματος ἁγίου EH 4 διέκρινε E προέκρινε H 5 ὄντα EH: εἰσὶν B βλαστήματα E 6 προτετιμείσθω EH (η) 7 ἡμῖν H ἐν om E ἵνα om E τὰ πάντα ἵνα H 8 γινέσθω E σκοπῷ τοῦ φθ. 'eo consilio ut' 9 σωμ. οὖν ἔθεσιν BH (οὖν om H): σωματικῶς E καὶ om EH ὡς ἔτυχεν ἁπλῶς E 10 ἀδιακρίτως καὶ EH om μηδὲ γονάτων μόνον post εὐχῆς add E 11 διὰ ψιλῆς γλώσσης ἢ post ψαλμ. add E, ἢ add H τὸν θεὸν E μόνον om H 12 γινομένης EH 12-13 ἐμφιλοχωρούμενοι H: ἐμπληροφορούμενοι E ἐπληροφορούμενοι B 13 ἡ om B τοῦ om B 17 ἡγείσθω post σκοπὸς add E τῆς πρὸς τὸν θ. ἀγ. E τῆς ἀγ. πρὸς τὸν θ. H 17-18 ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως γνησίας καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς διαθέσεως EH 18 τῶν om EH 19 κυριευέτω om E κυρίως H ἧς om H προηγουμένη H 19-21 ἧς . . . σπουδαζομένης: ὅταν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος κυρίως καὶ καθόλου προηγεῖται καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σπουδάζηται E 20-21 σπουδαζομένη H 21 τὴν γονυκλησίαν E 22 τῶν om EH

ἐντολῶν ἐπιτήδευσις καθαρῶς καὶ εἰλικρινῶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος συνεργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δύναται. τὸ γὰρ υἱοὺς φωτὸς γενέσθαι καὶ τέκνα θεοῦ καταξιωθῆναι καὶ κληρονόμους μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμους δὲ Χριστοῦ ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ υἱοὺς ἐπουρανίου νυμφῶνος εἶναι καὶ ἀδελφοὺς Χριστοῦ θείᾳ χάριτι προσαγορευθῆναι κατὰ τὰς ἀρρήτους ἐπαγγελίας τῶν θεοπνεύστων καὶ ἁγίων γραφῶν, ὅ ἐστιν ὁ σκοπὸς καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν Χριστιανῶν, διὰ ποίων ἡμῖν κατορθωμάτων ἢ ποίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔσται τυχεῖν εἰ μὴ δι' ὧν προειρήκαμεν, παραθέμενοι διὰ πλειόνων ἅμα καὶ τὰς γραφικὰς μαρτυρίας; ἀφ' ὧν τὸν ἄκρον καὶ τέλειον σκοπὸν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πολιτείας διαγνόντες, ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἐλπίδι καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς σπουδῇ πιστεύοντες θεῷ ἀψεύστῳ καὶ ἀληθινῷ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθότητι θεοῦ ἐπαγγελθέντων ἡμῖν καταξιωθῆναι, καθ' ἡμέραν αὐξανόμενοι ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ τὴν προκοπὴν ἡμῶν φανεροῦντες πᾶσιν ἐν κυρίῳ, τυχεῖν ἔξομεν τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς υἱοθεσίας, ὁλοκλήρως καὶ τελείως ἀδιστάκτῳ πίστει ἡμῶν ἐλπιζόντων. δι' οὗ καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῆς ἀτιμίας, φανερῶν τε καὶ κρυφίων, πρακτικῶν τε ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ λογισμῷ ἐπιτελουμένων,

BEH 2 τὴν . . . ἐνέργειαν E τὴν . . . συνεργίαν H τότε γὰρ E 3 υἱοὺς . . . καὶ pr om E καταξιωθήσεσθε γενέσθαι E 4 κληρονόμον E συγκληρονόμοι E 4-5 ἀποδεχθῆναι E 5 υἱοὶ E ἀδελφοὶ E 7 πασῶν τῶν E καὶ ἁγίων om H ὃς ἐστιν E 8 ὁ et ἡ om E δι' ὁποίων γὰρ EH (om γὰρ) ἡμῖν om E 9 ἢ δι' ὁποίων H ἢ ποίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων om E τούτων ante τυχεῖν add E qui non intellexit 2 τὸ cum τυχεῖν construi debere; cf οὔ τις ἐρᾷ τὸ (= τοῦτο) τυχεῖν et talia 10 ἅμα EH: ὁμοῦ B 11 ἀφ' ὧν om EH τὸν ante τέλειον add B 12 εὐσεβείας EH πολιτείας om EH δεικνύντες E καὶ ante ἀγάπῃ add H 13 πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ σπ. E ὡς θεῷ EH ἀψευδεῖ E 14 τῶν . . . 15 ἐπαγγελθέντων B: τὰ . . . ἐπαγγελθέντα EH 15 καθ' ἡμέραν B: ὁσημέραι EH (ὡς- E) 16 αὐξανομένων ἡμῶν EH τῆς προκοπῆς ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς φανερᾶς οὔσης E φανεροῦντες B: φανερὰν οὖσαν H 17 ἐν κυρίῳ om EH ἔξομεν: ἔσται ἡμῖν EH 18 ἀδιστάκτῳ καὶ ὁλοκλήρῳ EH 19 κρυπτῶν E 20 τε om H λογισμῷ correxi: λογισμῶν BEH 'peccata per actionem et peccata quae cogitando committuntur' cf p. 240, 24

ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνάμεθα καὶ καθαρὰν καρδίαν κατὰ τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ κυρίου καταξιούμεθα κτήσασθαι· τὸν ἀγῶνα μέντοι τὸν ἐξ ἰδίας προαιρέσεως ὡς ὑπεθέμεθα τελείως ἡμῶν παριστώντων, οὕτω τέκνα θεοῦ καὶ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ἀδελφοὶ Χριστοῦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος παρουσίαν καὶ συνανάκ‹ρασιν› καταξιωθέντες γενέσθαι, σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας ἀναπαυόμενοι συμβασιλεύσομεν.

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδή τινες ἀγνοίᾳ φερόμενοι ἐπισκήπτουσιν ἡμῖν ὡς ὑπέρογκα ἐκ ματαιότητος φρονοῦσι καὶ ἀδύνατα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι ἐλπίζουσι κατὰ τὸν σκοπόν, ὅνπερ ἀπὸ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν παρεστήσαμεν, καὶ τὴν γινομένην εἰλικρινῆ τοῖς πιστεύουσι καθαρότητα, ἣν οὐκ ἀμαρτύρως εἰπεῖν τετολμήκαμεν, καί φασιν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστί τινα ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ παρακελεύονται, ἤτοι περὶ τελείας καθαρότητος καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν παθῶν ἤτοι περὶ τῆς μετουσίας καὶ πληρώσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (ἠθέλησε γάρ, φασίν, ὁ κύριος οὕτω λαλῆσαι πρὸς φόβον ἀνθρώπων τὸ Ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν πλέον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἀποτόμως εἶπεν, οὐχ ὅτι, ἐὰν μή τις οὕτως γένηται, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐκ εἰσέρχεται· γενέσθαι γὰρ οὕτως ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει ἀδύνατον), ἀναγκαῖον δι' ὀλίγων περὶ τούτων παραστῆσαι τῷ δεσπότῃ

B(E)H 1 καὶ οὕτως κ. κ. E καρδίαν καθαρὰν H 2 τὸν BE: ὃν H 3 ὡς: ὃν E om H ὑποθέμεθα B 4 βασιλείας υἱοὶ H τῆς om 5 συμπαρουσίαν BE 6 συνανακ... B, supplevi: κοινωνίαν E καὶ συναν. om H 7 συμβασιλεύσωμεν E epilogum ab 8 Ἀλλ' ἐπειδή τινες usque ad finem epistulae om Ephraem 8 ἐν ante ἀγν. add H 9 ἐκ om H φρονούντων H 10 ἐλπιζόντων H κατὰ τ. σκ. κτλ. 'quantum attinet ad finem, quem proposuimus ex S. Scriptura, et ad puritatem, quam ei qui credunt adipiscuntur' 12 εἰλικρινῶς H 13 καὶ φασὶν ὅτι B: ἐκείνων λεγόντων H τινα om H 16-17 verba ab ἠθέλησε γάρ... usque ad 22 ἀδύνατον parenthesin esse indicavi 17 φησιν H 18 πλεῖον H 20 ὅμοια B: λοιπὰ H ἀποτόμως εἶπεν H, B in marg scripsit ὅτι: οἷον γάρ φησιν H 21 τὴν et τῶν om H 23 τούτου H τῷ δεσπ. om H

καὶ δεῖξαι οἵαν μὲν βλάβην καὶ ζημίαν ὑφίστανται οἱ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἑαυτοὺς πείσαντες μὴ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ τοῦ νοὸς ὑπολήψει ματαίως πληροφορεῖσθαι, οἵαν δὲ κατόρθωσιν καὶ κέρδος ἑαυτοῖς προξενοῦσιν οἱ πιστεύοντες τοῖς τοῦ πνεύματος διδάγμασι καὶ οὕτως ἑαυτοὺς πληροφορήσαντες, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα καὶ πᾶς λόγος καὶ πᾶσα ἐντολὴ διὰ τοῦ ἀψευδοῦς καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰρημένη τοῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ τελείως ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἐκδεδωκόσι καὶ διὰ τῆς πίστεως τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κομιζομένοις ἀγῶνι τελείῳ προαιρέσεως καὶ ἀντιλήψεως χάριτι κατορθωθῆναι δύναται.

Πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὸν χριστιανισμὸν ἀκριβῶς ἀνερευνῶντες καὶ τί τὸ τέλειον τοῦ θεοῦ θέλημα σπουδάζοντες ἐπιγινώσκειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ πόνον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ σκοποῦ θέμενοι καὶ ἐλπίζοντες ἐν ἀγῶνι πολλῷ καταντῆσαι καὶ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν κατάπαυσιν εἰσελθεῖν, πίστει δὲ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀρετῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ χάριτι σπουδάζοντες, ἔνθα οἱ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγοι τῆς τελειότητος παντοίως προτρέπονται, διὰ τριῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ὠφέλειαν καρπίζονται καὶ διὰ τριῶν τρόπων τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ τὸ κέρδος λαμβάνουσι. πρῶτον, ὅτι τὰς ἁγίας γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς τοῦ κυρίου λόγους ὡς θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ὡς πιστοὶ δοῦλοι ἡγοῦνται. δεύτερον, ὅτι εἰς τὸν τέλειον σκοπὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ ἀποβλέποντες ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ γενναῖοι ὁσημέραι καταρτίζονται, πόνον καὶ δρόμον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄπαυστον καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχοντες καὶ εἰς τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα τῆς τελειότητος ἐπειγόμενοι, μὴ διδόντες

BH 2 θείαις om H 5 διατάγμασι H 8 τῷ θεῷ om H 9 ἁγίου om H 10 χάριτος H πᾶσα ἐντολὴ post κατορθ. e linea 6 iterat H; volebat sententiae structuram illustrare sed haec verba e marg in textum irrepsisse videntur 12 ἄκρως H 13 τί om B 15 τὸν σκοπὸν H 16 καὶ pr: ἐκεῖ H 16-17 immo καταντῆσαι ut εἰσελθεῖν (17) cum εἰς ἐκ. τ. κατάπαυσιν coniungendum est 17 ἐλθεῖν B 20 οὗτοι ante τὴν ὠφέλειαν add H ut sententiae constructionem explanaret 21 τὸ om H 23 ἥγηνται B 25 τὸν ante πόνον add H 26 καὶ tertium om H

ἑαυτοῖς ἄνεσιν ἐν χαυνότητι ὅλως διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ σκοποῦ. τρίτον, ὅτι ἔχοντες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς τελειότητος καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου λόγοις ὡς ἀληθέσι πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι δεῖ εἰς τὰ μέτρα τῆς ἀπαθείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας φθάσαι τὸν ἀληθῶς προσεληλυθότα δουλεύειν τῷ θεῷ. ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖ προτρέπεται ὁ κύριος κἀκεῖ παρακαλεῖ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ λέγων· Γίνεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος, παντελῆ καθαρότητα ἐν ἡμῖν γίνεσθαι διδάσκων· καὶ πάλιν· Θέλω ἵνα ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγώ, καὶ οὗτοι ὦσι μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα θεωρῶσι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμήν· καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου δέ· Ἵνα παραστήσωμεν πάντα ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ· καὶ τὸ Μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀγωνιζόμενοι οὖν παντὶ τρόπῳ καὶ τρέχοντες ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν καλὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων δρόμον καὶ πονοῦντες περὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς πάντοτε οὐχ ἡγήσονται ἑαυτοὺς εἶναί τι, ἅτε δὴ μηδέπω φθάσαντες εἰς ὃ κέκληνται μέτρον, ἀλλ' ἀδοκίμους καὶ ταλαιπώρους καὶ μὴ κατειληφότας διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κτήσεως τοῦ πνευματικοῦ πλούτου ἡγήσονται, καίπερ ὄντες τίμιοι καὶ δόκιμοι καὶ ἀγωνισταί· οὕτως δὲ περὶ ἑαυτῶν ταπεινοφρονοῦντες† τῆς κακίας καὶ οἰήσεως καὶ ὄκνου καὶ ῥᾳθυμίας παντελῶς ἐκφεύξονται, καὶ ὅσον εἰς μέγα δικαιοσύνης μέτρον ἐξ ἀνάγκης χωροῦσι διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἔπειξιν καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ τὸν ἀνένδοτον ἀγῶνα, εἰ καὶ εἰς τὴν τελειότητα

BH 1 ἐν χαυν. ἄνεσιν H 3 τοὺς ... λόγους H ὡς om H 3-4 ἀληθεῖς εἶναι πιστεύσαντες H 5 θεῷ: κῷ H 5 ἐκεῖ H: κἀκεῖ B 6 κάκεῖ H: καὶ B 8 τὴν ante παντελῆ add. H 10 δὲ om H 12 καταντήσομεν H 18 ἀλλ' B: καὶ ὡς H 19 τί post κατειληφότας add H, fuitne τι? cf εἶναί τι 20 κλήσεως H 21 τινα post ἑαυτῶν add B, delevi, quod confirmavit H qui hoc omittit. fuitne λείπει τινά in marg archetypi? nam aliqua verba deesse debent in linea sequenti 22 ante τῆς κακίας accusativus desideratur velut τὴν κατηγορίαν τῆς ante οἰήσεως et τοῦ ante ὄκνου add H 24 ἔπειξιν B: ἐλπίδα H 25 καὶ τὸν om H ἀνένδοτον suppleveram pro ... δοτον B quod confirmat H εἰ om H

φθάσαι διὰ τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον οὔπω δύνανται. Διὰ τριῶν οὖν τρόπων τὴν οἰκοδομήν, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν οἱ τούτῳ ἐχόμενοι τῷ φρονήματι πορίζονται. οἱ δὲ τὸν χριστιανισμὸν ὡς ἔτυχε μικρὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἀνερευνῶντες τὸ ἀκρότατον τοῦ πνευματικοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἄκρων ἐντολῶν παραγγελίαν μὴ ἀναζητοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἀδιαφόρως καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου λόγοις καὶ καταφρονητικῶς προσέχοντες, ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ ὑπολήψεως ματαίας πληροφορούμενοι πρὸς φόβον ἀνθρώπων ἁπλῶς εἰρῆσθαι τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς ἐντολὰς νομίζουσιν καὶ οὐκ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἕνεκα βεβαιοῦνται τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λόγον ὅτι Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν. οὕτως ἀσείστους καὶ ἑδραίους καὶ ἀληθεῖς τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ εἶναι διδάξαντος οἱ τοιούτῳ λογισμῷ καὶ φρονήματι πειθόμενοι πάλιν καὶ αὐτοὶ [διὰ τριῶν πραγμάτων καὶ] διὰ τριῶν τρόπων τὸ μέγιστον βλάβος καὶ ζημίαν τῇ ψυχῇ προσκομίζουσι. πρῶτον, ὅτι εἰς τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφὰς ἀπιστοῦντες ψεύστην καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ τὸν θεὸν συνιστῶσι. δεύτερον, ὅτι μὴ ἔχοντες τὸν μείζονα καὶ τέλειον τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ σκοπὸν εἰς ὃν οὐδέπω †κατειλήφασιν,

BH 1 ὑπερβάλλοντα suppleveram pro . . . βάλλοντα B τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πλοῦτος iam praebet H cf 293, 19 2 οὖν om H ὡς εἴρηται om H 3 τὴν om H 4 εἶναι post ἔτυχεν coll H ὡς ἔτυχε hic mirum, an ex 8 illatum? 5 καὶ om H 9 verba καὶ καταφρονητικῶς post 8 ὡς ἔτυχε collocanda vid nescio an e marg intrusa; cf p. 266, 16 καὶ om H 11 κεῖσθαι H νομίζοντες H 15 αὐτοῦ om H δείξαντος H 16-17 verba πραγμάτων καὶ διὰ τριῶν τρόπων partim in marg partim in lineae initio multis ligaturis usus in ras scr B^2, habet H, sed spatium in B sufficit pro τρόπων solum, quod olim in textu extitisse puto et restitui (cf 2); tum a B^2 et H communi fonte usis verba διὰ τριῶν πραγμάτων καὶ addita sunt ex p. 292, 20 17 διὰ om H 21 ante οὐδέπω add εἰς ὃν H, in marg add B^2 κατειλήφασιν B: κατειληφότας H, sed κατειληφέναι ('to have arrived') hoc sensu absolute et non cum εἰς construi solet, cf. 295, 14 at εἰς τὸν σκοπὸν φθάσαι vel ἐφθακέναι auctor saepe dicit, quare hic quoque κατεφθάκασιν scribendum videtur. si κατειληφότας recipias ex H, εἶναί τι (295, 1) delendum est quod H ex coniectura

ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι τι ἡγούμενοι πόνον καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ πεῖναν καὶ δίψαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔχειν οὐ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ χαυνότητα καὶ ἀμεριμνίαν καὶ νωθρείαν διὰ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας καὶ ματαίας πληροφορίας κτῶνται. τρίτον, ὅτι οἰόμενοι καλῶς ἑστάναι δι' ὀλίγας τινὰς ἀρετάς, μὴ ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸ τέλειον τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μέτρον, εἰς ὃ ἀποβλέποντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δόντες μηδέπω ἐφθακέναι οἴδασι, ταπείνωσιν καὶ πτωχείαν καὶ σύντριψιν καρδίας κεκτῆσθαι [ἑαυτοὺς εἰδότες] οὐ δύνανται διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐξωτέροις σχήμασι καὶ ἤθεσιν ἢ ἐπὶ ὀλίγοις τισὶ κατορθώμασιν ἑαυτοὺς πληροφορῆσαι· καὶ οὕτως ἀπομένουσι τῆς μακαρίας ἐλπίδος καὶ κλήσεως τῆς τοῦ κυρίου τελειότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν παθῶν παντελοῦς καθάρσεως, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δικαιοῦντες δι' ὀλίγας τινὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ ὡς κατειληφότας καὶ ὄντας τι ἑαυτοὺς ἡγούμενοι, προκοπὴν ὁσημέραι καὶ αὔξησιν πνευματικὴν ἀκολούθως οὐ λαμβάνουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν πόνον καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ θλῖψιν καὶ σύντριψιν καρδίας· οἱ γὰρ πόνον καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ θλῖψιν διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ πεῖναν καὶ δίψαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης μὴ ἔχοντες ἀδυνατοῦσιν εἰς τὸ τέλειον φθάσαι, καὶ εἰ αὔξησίν τινα ἢ προκοπὴν δέξασθαι δυνήσονται.

Ἢ καὶ ἑτέρᾳ ὑποθέσει χρησώμεθα· ὥσπερ ἐάν τισιν ἐργάταις ἢ δούλοις τισὶ ῥηθῇ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου πρὸς τρία πλέθρα τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστον θερίσαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν εἷς ἐργάτης, τοιαύτην ἐντολὴν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου λαβών, ἐκδῶ ὁλοτελῶς

fecit, sed ne sic quidem fieri potest quin verbum ad εἰς ὄν suppleas velut κατεφθάκασιν cf 7 et 19

BH 1 εἶναί τι om H 2 δύναται H 7 δόντες om H fuitne εἰδότες an olim utrumque ut var lect extabat? cf ad 8 πεφθακέναι οἰόμενοι H 8 συντριβὴν H κτήσασθαι H verba -σθαι ἑαυτοὺς εἰδότες in fine lineae et in marg super ras add B^2 (σθαι litterae ligatura scriptae sunt, ut spatium sufficiat) ἑαυτοὺς εἰδότες om H; est var lect ad 7 ἑαυτοὺς δόντες e marg in textum intrusa, sed hoc loco sensu caret; om op 11 ἀπομένουσι] procul a beata spe ... remoti manent 12 χῦ H τῆς om H 16 καὶ σύντριψιν ... 17 καὶ θλῖψιν om H 19 ἀδύνατον ἢ εἰς H καὶ εἰ: ἢ κἂν H ἢ: καὶ H 20 δυνήσονται om H 23 καὶ om H μὲν: δὲ H 24 τοιαύτην: ταύτην τὴν H

ἑαυτὸν πάσῃ ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμει ἀγωνιῶν καὶ πονῶν καὶ μεριμνῶν καὶ σπουδάζων, πῶς τρία πλέθρα μόνος θερίσει· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἀδύνατον εἶναι νομίσας τὸ ἐπιταχθὲν πληρῶσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐχαυνώθη καὶ οὕτως ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ποτὲ μὲν θερίζων ποτὲ δὲ χαυνούμενος καὶ ἀναπαυόμενος οὐ δύναται τοσοῦτον ἐργάσασθαι ὅσον ὁ πρότερος ὁ σπουδάσας· κἂν μὴ δυνηθῇ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ προστάγματος τελέσαι τὸ προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐργάτου ‹τοῦ› μὴ ἔχοντος ἐκεῖνον τὸν σκοπὸν μήτε οὕτως ἀγωνιῶντος καὶ μεριμνῶντος καὶ σπουδάζοντος πολὺ πλέον ἐξ ἅπαντος ἔργον ποιεῖ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἄπαυστον σπουδὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν μέριμναν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸ μὴ χαυνωθῆναι ὅλως· οὕτως οἱ προειρημένοι εἰς τὸν τέλειον τῆς οὐρανίου κλήσεως σκοπὸν ἀποβλέποντες καὶ κατὰ τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφὰς πιστεύοντες καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅση δύναμις αὐτοῖς, κρείττους καὶ μείζους εἰσὶν ἐξ ἅπαντος ἐν τῇ γνώσει καὶ πίστει καὶ ἔργοις ἐκείνων τῶν εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν τῆς τελειότητος καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀπαθείας φθάσαι μὴ πιστευόντων μηδὲ ἐπιτηδευόντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ θελήματι μόνῳ πληροφορουμένων καὶ οἰήσει τὴν προκοπὴν ἐχόντων· οὐκ ἀποβλέποντες γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἄκρον τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν λόγων τῆς μακαρίας κλήσεως σκοπὸν ἑαυτοὺς μηδὲν εἶναι ἡγεῖσθαι ἀκμὴν οὐ δύνανται, συντετριμμένην καρδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες μηδὲ πεινῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ὅλῃ ἰσχύϊ καὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ πόνῳ καὶ ἀγῶνι τρέχειν οὐ δυνάμενοι, τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ πιστεύοντες τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐντολῶν καὶ

BH 3 πληρῶσαι: τελέσαι H 6 σπουδάσας: γὰρ εἰς H 7 πράγματος H 8 ἀλλὰ om B τοῦ addidi 9 τὸν om H 15 verba καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι in fine lineae in angusto spatio compressit B[a] 16 τῇ: τε H 18 μὴ: μήτε H de coniectura ut vid μηδὲ scripsi: μήτε BH 19 θελήματι om H μόνῳ: νῶ H 20 τῇ οἰήσει H ἀποβλεπόντων H 21 γὰρ om H 22 καὶ ἑαυτοὺς H ἀκμὴν om H de coniectura ut vid; est accusativus adverbialis in Attico sermone minus usitatus, cf Phryn 100 (cf 26 ἀρχήν) 24 καὶ alt om H 25 δύνανται H 26 τὴν ὅλως ἀρχὴν B varias lectiones ὅλως et τὴν ἀρχὴν male contaminans ὅλως om H μήτε H

εὐαγγελικῶν λόγων ἱεροῖς παραγγέλμασιν, ἵνα διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ σπουδῆς ἀγαθῆς τὴν πνευματικὴν προκοπὴν λαμβάνοντες τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἄξιοι γένωνται.

Πρὸς πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ τοῦτο ἁρμοζόντως ῥηθήσεται· εἰ μὲν τῇ ἑαυτῶν δυνάμει ἐπερειδόμενοι καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἰσχύϊ ἢ συνέσει ἢ δικαιώμασι πεποιθότες τὴν τῶν παθῶν ἐνέργειαν ἀναιρεῖν καὶ ἐκριζοῦν ἐπηγγελλόμεθα, ὅπερ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, καλῶς ἂν ἕκαστος καθ' ἡμῶν εἶχε λέγειν ὡς ὑπέρογκα ἐκ ματαιότητος φρονούντων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐπαγγελλομένων· εἰ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξακολουθοῦντες καὶ τῇ συνέσει τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν συνεθισθέντες καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ πεποιθότες ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι τὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα παρὰ τῷ ἐπαγγειλαμένῳ θεῷ πάντα δυνατὰ τυγχάνει, τί ἄπιστον κρίνετε, εἰ ὁ θεὸς νεκροὺς ἐγείρει, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν εἴρηται; εἰ γὰρ νεκροὺς ἐγείρει, καὶ πάθη κακίας τῶν ἄκρως ἐν πάσαις ἀρεταῖς ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ εἰλικρινῶς καὶ ὁλοκλήρως πιστευόντων ἐκριζοῦν <οὐκ> ἀδυνατεῖ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. πᾶν γὰρ ἐπαγγελθὲν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ῥῆμα οὐ παραλογισθήσεται κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου· Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· Τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ἀνθρωπίνῃ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύϊ δι' ἀκροτάτης ἀσκήσεως καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ ἀγῶνος ἀνακόπτεσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐξεργάζεσθαι πάθη μιαρὰ τὰ συνόντα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι οὐ δυνατόν· ἐνκόπτεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐκριζοῦσθαι παντελῶς τὰ ἐπισπαρέντα τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τῶν παθῶν ζιζάνια τοῖς ἀληθῶς

BH 3 post ἄξιοι γένωνται brevi peroratione expl Arab, om 4-fin 7 ἐπηγγειλάμεθα B 9 ἐκ om H sed cf 291, 9 15 καθὼς . . . ἐγείρει in marg add H 16 γὰρ om H 18 οὐ B om H cf sq ἀδυνατεῖ H: δύναται B οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ correxi 19 τῷ om H ἁγίαις H 20 ταῖς post γραφαῖς add B quod deleveram, om H οὐ παραλογ. om H 21-22 παρελεύσεται H 22 μοι H 23 μὲν B: γὰρ H μὲν γὰρ correxi 26 οὐ δ.: ἀδύνατον H 28 ἀληθινῶς H

πιστεύουσι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει μόνον δυνατόν. Ἰδοὺ γάρ, φησίν, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου· καὶ Ἐὰν ὑμεῖς μείνητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, ἀληθῶς μαθηταί μου ἐστέ, καὶ γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐλευθερώσει ὑμᾶς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Ὁ θεὸς συντρίψει τὸν σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν ἐν τάχει καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τὰ προειρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ῥήματα τὴν τῶν παθῶν παντελῆ ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῖς διὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγῶνος ὁλοτελῶς ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἀφιερώσασιν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

Τοὺς γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἡγουμένους τὴν κατόρθωσιν ταύτην διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ὄντως καινὴ κτίσις τῆς καθαρᾶς καρδίας, διαρρήδην ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῇ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀποδείκνυσιν ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς διὰ ἀπιστίαν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν μὴ καταξιωθεῖσι, διὰ τοῦτο τῶν κώλων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πεπτωκότων· ὅπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐπαγγελίας γῆ καὶ ἑπτὰ ἐθνῶν καθαίρεσις εἰς τὸ προφανές, τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα παθῶν ἀπολύτρωσις καὶ ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου κατὰ τὸ κρυπτόν, ὅπερ ὁ ἀπόστολος τέλος πάσης ἐντολῆς εἶναι ἀπέδειξεν· ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ὄντως ἀληθινὴ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας γῆ, δι' ἣν καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διὰ Μωυσέως τυπικῶς ὑποδείκνυται. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀκροτάτων τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μέτρων οὐκ ἐφηψάμεθα διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χαύνωσιν ἢ ἀμέλειαν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄμετρον εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθότητα διὰ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ῥημάτων ὁμολογεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ κηρύσσειν ὡς εὐγνώμονας δούλους χρὴ καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ βέβαια καὶ πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ἐπαγγελθέντα τοῖς ὁλοτελῶς ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἐκδεδωκόσιν·

B(H) 1 μόνη H 5 τὸ om H 6 τὰ alt om H 9 post ἐπαγγέλλεται adposito signo † excerptum ex Macarii epistula deficit in H et pergit: ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου ἀληθὴς ἔστι(!) ὑμῖν . . . sequuntur varia excerpta ex Macarii homiliis 13 ὁμμοίους correxi: ὁμοίως B ἐοικότας interpr op 22 ὑπεδείκνυ› (= -εν) corruptum: ὑποδείκνυται correxi καὶ δι' αὐτὴν πάντα ἐκεῖνα τυπικῶς παραδίδοται interpr op, desideratur igitur praesens passivi

ἵνα κἂν διὰ νωθρείαν προαιρέσεως ἢ ἀσθενείας παντελῶς ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ μὲν ἀφιερώσαντες τῶν μεγάλων καὶ τελείων τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μέτρων ἐπὶ πολὺ τύχωμεν ἐλαττούμενοι, ἀλλ' ὅμως κἂν ἐλέους τινὸς διὰ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος τυχεῖν δυνηθῶμεν καὶ μὴ ὡς ἀντιταξάμενοι τοῖς διδάγμασι τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἀπειθεῖς εὑρεθέντες ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς γενώμεθα.

Ἐπιστηρίζων γὰρ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος καὶ ἀσφαλιζόμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητάς, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τοιούτῳ φρονήματι εὑρεθῇ τις αὐτῶν, φησί· Βλέπετε, ἀδελφοί, μήποτε ἔσται ἔν τινι ὑμῶν καρδία πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζῶντος· τὸ δὲ ἀποστῆναι οὐχὶ τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐγνώρισεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπιστῆσαι ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτοῦ ἀπέδειξεν, ὅθεν ἀλληγορῶν εἰς τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀλήθειαν τὰ τυπικὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπείθειαν πρὸς <τὴν> ἡμετέραν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Τινὲς γὰρ ἀκούσαντες παρεπίκραναν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες οἱ ἐξελθόντες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μωυσέως. τίσι δὲ προσώχθισε τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη; οὐχὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ὧν τὰ κῶλα ἔπεσον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ; τίσι δὲ ὤμοσε μὴ εἰσελεύσεσθαι εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι; καὶ βλέπομεν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσῆλθον διὰ ἀπιστίαν· καὶ ἐπάγει· Βλέπετε μήποτε καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ δοκῇ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑστερηκέναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐσμὲν εὐηγγελισμένοι καθάπερ κἀκεῖνοι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ὠφέλησεν ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐκείνους μὴ συνεδρασμένους τῇ πίστει τοῖς ἀκούσασιν· εἰσερχόμεθα γὰρ εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν οἱ πιστεύσαντες. Χριστιανῶν γὰρ ἀληθινῶν κατάπαυσις ἡ τῶν παθῶν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀπολύτρωσις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πληρεστάτη ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ

B 12 ἀρνήσασθαι τὸ ὄνομα] haec verba partim in ras (vel lac?) partim supra lin scr B^3; τὸ ὄνομα non interpr op 13 ἀπιστῆσαι correxi ex op: ἀποστῆναι B ad lineam praecedentem aberrans 16 τὴν addidi 19 ἁμαρτήσασιν op 22 βλέπετε B: φοβηθῶμεν N.T. et op καταλιπομένης B op, correxi 26 συνεδρασμένους B (sic), συγκεκερασμένους N.T. et op

καὶ ἐνεργὴς ἐνοίκησις. διὸ προβὰς ἐπιφέρει· Σπουδάσωμεν οὖν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν κατάπαυσιν· τουτέστιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἀρεταῖς, πιστεύοντες τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ πνεύματος τελείως καταξιοῦσθαι· καὶ Ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὑποδείγματι πέσῃ τις τῆς ἀπειθείας. διὸ παραθαρρύνων καὶ εἰς πίστιν ἀναζωπυρῶν τὰς προαιρέσεις αὐτῶν φησι· Προσερχώμεθα οὖν μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος, ἵνα λάβωμεν ἔλεον καὶ χάριν εὕρωμεν εἰς εὔκαιρον βοήθειαν, καὶ πάλιν· Προσερχώμεθα οὖν μετὰ ἀληθινῆς καρδίας ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως, ἐρραντισμένοι ἤτοι κεκαθαρμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς, καὶ πάλιν· Πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καθαρίσει τὴν συνείδησιν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων, εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ· καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν μαρτυρίας εὕροιτε ἂν παμπόλλας τούτῳ τῷ σκοπῷ εἰρημένας.

Ἀποδέδεικται τοίνυν ἐκ πάντων πλουσίως τοῖς εὐγνωμόνως τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ πνεύματος πειθομένοις, ὅτι χρὴ τὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ προσεληλυθότα θεῷ, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ πιστεύοντα ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγωνιζόμενον καὶ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὸν νοῦν ἀνακαινούμενον, προκοπῆς πνευματικῆς χάριν αἰσθέσθαι ἐν ἑαυτῷ· ἵν' οὕτως καταντῆσαι δυνηθῶμεν εἰς τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ τελείου ἁγιασμοῦ κατάπαυσιν, τουτέστι φθάσαι εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην τῆς υἱοθεσίας τοῦ προσκυνητοῦ πνεύματος, δι' οὗ καὶ τὴν παντελῆ τῶν παθῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα· καὶ οὕτως ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ὁλοτελῶς ἀπεντεῦθεν ἁγιασθέντες καὶ ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἄμωμοι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καταρτισθέντες καὶ τὸν ἐπουράνιον τῆς τελείας χάριτος θησαυρὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀστρακίνοις ἡμῶν τοῦ σώματος σκεύεσιν ἐν πάσῃ πληροφορίᾳ ἐντεῦθεν κομισάμενοι καὶ θεοῦ οἰκητή-

B 2-3 ἀγωνιζόμενοι corruptum, ἀγωνιζώμεθα corrige 5 τῆς ἀπειθείας B: γρ τῆς ἁμαρτίας in marg B^2 16 πάμπολλας B, correxi

ριον καθαρὸν γενόμενοι, ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρᾳ τῆς βασιλείας τελείως Χριστῷ συνδοξασθέντες καὶ σύμμορφοι τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ καταξιωθέντες γενέσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν ἀναπαύσει ἀνεκλαλήτῳ ἀναπαυσώμεθα εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΔΟΞΑ